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AUTHOR Gillespie, Judith A.; Patrick, John J.
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ABSTRACT

This second of three units to the 12th-grade first-semester "Comparing Political Experiences" course provides 20 student activities that examine political resources such as wealth, skills, status, information, and ideas. The activities and readings are divided into six sections which stress the alternative patterns of political resources found in different political systems. Part 1 introduces the concept of political resources. Part 2 contains six activites in which students use survey research techniques to gain knowledge about political resources in the school. Part 3 compares the patterns of political resources in elite and coalitional political systems. Part 4 is designed to teach students how resources affect political maintenance and change in elite and coalitional political systems. Part 5 compares how political resources affect political development and conflict in elite and coalitional political systems. Finally, in part 6 students examine case studies about the United Nations and China in order to learn how to forecast alternative futures at the national and school levels. Each section contains the necessary student materials and student discussion questions. (Author/DE)

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COMPARING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

POLITICAL SYSTEMS

USING POLITICAL RESOURCES

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Judith Gillespie
John Patrick

High School Political Science Curriculum Project
Social Studies Development Center
513 North Park Avenue
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

These experimental curriculum materials are part of a two-semester high school course, Comparing Political Experiences. The materials constitute one unit of one semester, Political Systems. The course is being developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Project, which is one of the projects sponsored by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The project is supported with funds provided by the National Science Foundation. These materials cannot be duplicated, reproduced or used in any manner without the specific written approval of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project.
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Judith Gillespie, Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick co-direct the project. The Political Systems materials are being developed principally by Judith Gillespie and John Patrick. The Political Issues materials are being developed principally by Judith Gillespie and Stuart Lazarus. Howard Mehlinger and Stuart Lazarus co-direct the Comparing Political Experiences Diffusion Project. Toby Bonwit serves as a curriculum writer and editor for the project. Dave Lambert co-ordinates the formative evaluation and the work on the validation study. All instruments and analysis work to measure student achievement are being carried out by National Evaluation Systems, Amherst, Massachusetts. Martin Sampson administers and coordinates pilot school activities. Judith Gillespie and John Patrick are directly responsible for the materials developed in this unit.

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tional units. The consultants are listed below. The asterisks refer to those individuals who are engaged in gathering case materials:

*Hal Barger
Department of Political Science
Trinity University
715 Stadium Drive
San Antonio, Texas 78284

George Behlen
History Department
Youngstown State University
Youngstown, Ohio

*Winston Cox
Department of Political Science
Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20001

*Chris Garcia
Department of Political Science
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101

Maurice Guysenir
Department of Secondary Education
Northeastern Illinois University
Bryn Mawr at St. Louis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60625

Michael Hartoonian
Department of Public Instruction
126 Langdon Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53702

*Mary Hepburn
Department of Social Science Education
Dudley Hall
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Ray Hiner
School of Education
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Ruth Jones
Department of Political Science
8001 Natural Bridge Road
University of Missouri-St. Louis
St. Louis, Missouri 63121

Morris Lewenstein
Department of Social Science
California State University,
San Francisco
1600 Holloway Drive
San Francisco, California 94132

Sarah Liebschutz
Department of Political Science
SUNY at Brockport
Brockport, New York 14420

Jack Lowry
Department of Education
University of California at Davis
Davis, California 95616

James McKenny
Department of Political Science
Wichita State University
Wichita, Kansas 67208

Orvill Minard
Department of Political Science
University of Nebraska
Omaha, Nebraska

Manindra Mohapatra
Associate Professor of Political Science
Old Dominion University
Lafayette, Virginia 23508

Willis Moreland
Department of Social Education
104 Hensly Hall
University of Nebraska
Lincoln, Nebraska

*James Oswald
Intercultural Studies Program
American Universities Field Staff
3 Lebanon Street
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Richard Remy
Mershon Center
The Ohio State University
199 West 10th Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Jack Simpson
Department of Curriculum & Instruction
Enderis 377
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201

Jim Stevens
Director of Financial Aids
Marietta College
Marietta, Ohio 45750

George Stoumbis
Department of Secondary Education
Mesa Vista Hall
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101

*Jan Tucker
College of Education
Florida International University
Tamiami Trail
Miami, Florida 33144

Ronald Urick
Department of Interdisciplinary Teacher Education
College of Education
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Thomas Volgy
Department of Government
The University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona 85721

*Karen Wiley
Social Science Education Consortium
855 Broadway
Boulder, Colorado 80302

*Maurice Woodard
Department of Political Science
Howard University
Washington, D.C. 20001

Edward Wynne
College of Education
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

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Ms. Diane Bolling
Roxbury High School
335 Greenville
Boston, Massachusetts

Mr. David Bonnette
Frontier High School
Route 2, Box 45
New Matamoras, Ohio 45767

Mr. Tom Castellano
Clyde-Savannah High School
215 Glasgow Street
Clyde, New York 14433

Mr. Tom Coats
South Dade Senior High School
24801 S.W. 167th Avenue
Homestead, Florida 33030

Mr. Bob Cook
Rio Americano High School
4540 American River Drive
Sacramento, California 95825

Mr. William Daley
Kellam High School
RFD 2 Box 2010
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23456

Mr. Tony Gauthier
Lawrence High School
19th and Louisiana Streets
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Ms. Rosemary Gindhart
Delta High School
Rural Route #1
Muncie, Indiana 47302

Mr. Charles Gordon
Fremont Senior High School
1750 North Lincoln Avenue
Fremont, Nebraska 68025

Mr. Doug Jenisch
Hanover High School
Lebanon Street
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Mr. Harold Keller
Central Catholic High School
1403 North St. Mary's
San Antonio, Texas 78215

Mr. Richard F. Kraft
Los Altos High School
15321 E. Los Robles Avenue
Hacienda Heights, California 91745

Mr. James Kreil
Milwaukee Trade and Technical
High School
319 West Virginia Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204

Ms. Shirley S. Mantlo
Fenger High School
11220 South Wallace
Chicago, Illinois 60628

Ms. Linda Matarrese
East High School
1545 Detroit Street
Denver, Colorado 80206

Mr. Tom Obrecht & Ms. Rachel
Gragg
North High School
1550 3rd Street
Riverside, California 92507

Mr. John O'Connor
Hyde Park High School
655 Metropolitan Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02136

Mr. Steven Prigohzy
Friends School in Detroit
1100 St. Aubin
Detroit, Michigan 48207

Mr. Richard Saul
The Rayen School
250 Bonita Avenue
Youngstown, Ohio 44540

Mr. Ray Vandersteen
Bloomington High School North
3901 Kinser Pike
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Mr. David Victor
Lake Park High School
6N 600 Medinah
Itasca, Illinois

Ms. Sara R. Vincent
Elbert County High School
Forest Avenue
Elberton, Georgia 30635

Ms. Marge Whatley
Houston Independent School
District
4100 Chartres Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Ms. Elise Whyte
Anacostia High School
16th and R Streets, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020

Mr. Roscoe Keeney
East Bank High School
East Bank, West Virginia 25167

Ms. Gail Funk
Newark High School
East Delaware Avenue
Newark, Delaware 19711

Brother Clement Burger
Holy Trinity High School
1443 West Division Street
Chicago, Illinois 60622

Mr. Clifford Floyd and Mr. Raul
Theriault
Westminister High School
6980 Raleigh Street
Westminister, Colorado 80030

Mr. Dennis Verstynen
Rio Grande High School
2300 Arenal Street, S.W.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101

All of these people have demonstrably influenced the way this unit had been developed. However, the responsibility for the ideas and approaches taken in the materials should not be attributed to the APSA Pre-Collegiate Committee, the National Science Foundation, the consultants or the pilot teachers. Although their contributions continue to be invaluable, responsibility for the ideas presented here rests with the authors.

Judith Gillespie
John Patrick

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PART A: POLITICAL RESOURCES--WHAT DIFFERENCE DO THEY MAKE?

Three candidates are competing for the Democratic party nomination for mayor of a large city in the southern part of the United States. Following are brief descriptions of these candidates which appeared in a local newspaper. Read these "candidate profiles" and rank the candidates (1, 2 and 3) according to how strong they seem to be as mayoral candidates.

BART BARON IV is the only son of the very rich banker Bart Baron III. The Baron family has been prominent in business and social activities in this community for the past 100 years. This is young Bart's first attempt to win public office. He has worked for his father since graduation from Duke University five years ago. He belongs to many local civic organizations and was the chairman of the local United Fund drive last year. His father wants Bart to become mayor and plans to "bankroll" his campaign.

SAUL COHEN is known locally as "Mr. Councilman." He has been a leading member of the city council for twenty years. During this time, he has sponsored important new laws which have helped to improve the city. Saul has a strong following among the local Democratic party organization and is considered to be a very skillful organizer and campaigner. He knows more about local politics than anyone in the city. Saul is a prime example of the "American dream" of the poor boy who makes good. Saul's father came to the United States as a penniless immigrant in the 1930's. Saul worked his way through the state university and was a high school teacher for many years. Currently, he works as an administrator for the Local Teamsters Union.

HERB HAYFIELD is a young man on fire with the desire to reform city government. He has been stimulated to political action by a recent scandal in the city government involving the present Mayor and the Police Chief. Herb is the manager of a large department store. He never has run for public office, and he has little knowledge of local politics. However, Herb considers his position as a political outsider to be a strength, since his campaign is based on an appeal to throw the old-line politicians out of office.

How would you rank the political strength of these three mayoral candidates? Why?

It should be obvious that Bart Baron and Saul Cohen are much stronger than Herb Hayfield as mayoral candidates. Both Baron and Cohen have many political resources. In contrast, Hayfield has fewer political resources.

The following activity highlights the importance of political resources to individuals and groups.

Activity A-1: Political Resources in a Group: The Student Lounge Case

What political resources does a group have? What political resources does a group need? Wise answers to these questions can make the difference between political success or failure as shown by the following case study, "The Student Lounge."

The Student Lounge

The Student Political Action Club had a problem. It hadn't ACTED on anything in months. The club had been organized three years ago because a group of students wanted to see the dress code changed. Students wanted to wear what they felt comfortable in -- jeans, sandals, hats, beads. They also wanted to be themselves and keep their hair long or short depending on who they were and what they liked. About thirty students had formed the Political Action Club and they presented plans to the administration, circulated petitions, brought in speakers, and generally aroused the school. They also won their way. The dress code was abolished and everyone was very satisfied.

Maybe they were too satisfied. Since the dress code issue, the club had done very little. People raised some other problems off and on over the years, but no one could get involved enough to really work on them. The club had dwindled to a dozen members who met irregularly to talk and generally to have a good discussion.

In the last few weeks an issue had arisen in the school which made the discussions in the club much more heated than usual. Many students wanted a student lounge where they could relax and spend time together.

Since sutdents were now bused into the school and it was overcrowded, a lounge was the only way students could see each other. Besides, the teachers had a lounge. Why couldn't the students have one?

The club seemed to have an issue again, but it didn't have a membership. People had stopped coming to club meetings long ago. Peter, the club president, was concerned. How could they put together a group that could solve some of these problems? What resources did they need? They clearly needed people, but not just anyone; they needed to form a working group which could get things done.

Peter raised the issue at the Tuesday meeting of the club. The five people who attended were enthusiastic. Clearly, the group thought, they

needed people with pull -- students who could influence others to work on the problem and give it support. Peter had some pull with students, but no one could get to the principal or the teachers. They needed students who had an inside track with people who had authority.

Influence, though, was not the only important factor in success. They needed people who had information about the issues. People who could investigate the legal requirements and the rooms available for a lounge. They also needed people with organizational skills and experience in working with others in order to mobilize people behind the issue. Mary knew a lot about student rights and Pat was good at getting things done, but they needed someone who could dig into the issues without getting people upset about students' activities.

Finally, the club decided it needed some people with ideas about how the problems could be resolved. It needed students who could work up some plans and alternatives that people in the school could support. Generally, the club had a pretty like-minded group of people as members, and they needed some fresh ideas.

Everyone seemed to agree that the club needed help in some important tasks. They adjourned the meeting with the promise that they would think about these needs and come up with a list of names of people who could help them in the next meeting.

---

1. What resources did the Political Action Club have?
2. What resources did the club need?

The student profiles on the following pages represent people who could have been chosen by members of the Political Action Club to help them in solving the student lounge problem. If you were to choose two students to become members of the club, which <u>two</u> students would you think would have the most to contribute? Please give reasons for your choices in the spaces provided at the end of the list of student profiles.

Student Profiles

Sam Studley

Sam Studley is very popular with students. He is the quarterback of the school's championship football team and is President of the Student Council. He knows a lot of students and works easily with various groups in the school. He has a lot of experience in organizing groups and working with people. His influence with teachers is minimal, and he doesn't know much about the procedures that need to be followed in getting something through the administration, but he's a "go-getter" and most everyone likes him.

Blanche Banks

Blanche is the Senior Class Treasurer and controls all $250 of the class council's money. Since the seniors are the only ones with any real money to contribute to getting furniture or equipment for a lounge, she is an important figure in planning what activities the seniors will support. She also has a lot of ideas about various activities the class might undertake. The lounge is only one idea among many which she thinks is important.

"Red" Mackey

"Red" is a good student and is respected by most teachers and classmates. He has always been able to get teachers to agree with activities that the students wanted to undertake. Although "Red" has not been an official leader in any school organizations, he has performed a useful role in convincing teachers of student views.

Chris Chavez

Chris Chavez is the editor of the student newspaper. He has always run a paper which faces issues squarely. The administration has sometimes disagreed with his editorials, but generally he has been able to express a lot of different views about issues in the school.

Chris is an idea man. His editorials usually reflect both thought about an issue and alternative plans for how a problem can be resolved. He has rarely led students in "causes," but he always has valuable suggestions to contribute. His editorials helped in getting the dress code issue resolved. The editorial staff also frequently polls students, teachers and the administration to find out their views on school problems.

Marv Rosen

Marv has been pushing for a student lounge since he was a freshman. He is the Senior Class spokesman for student rights and was the principal author of the revised student code. He knows the school rules backward and forward. He has also done a lot of research on the student lounges at other schools -- how they were created, what happened when they first began, what reasons students give for using such a room.

Marv has often tried to get students to push the issue of a lounge, but without success. Each time he has presented the issue he has had new ideas and facts to back his case, but students have been too busy with other activities. Marv is a man with an idea, but without much of a following.

Ada Sliwinski

Ada Sliwinski is not just a good debater, she is a <u>great</u> debater. As captain of the debate team, she has led the team to many victories over the last two years. She is respected by students, faculty and administrators alike. She has brought considerable recognition to the school and the community.

Because of her position and her skills, Ada has considerable influence with the principal. On most issues, the principal will listen to her position and will come over to her side. She worked hard on the dress code issue and developed a good set of arguments which the principal used when the issue was brought before the school board.

Who would you choose to be a valuable member of the Political Action Club? Check two of the names listed below.

_____ Sam Studley

_____ Blanche Banks

_____ "Red" Mackey

_____ Chris Chavez

_____ Marv Rosen

_____ Ada Sliwinski

Why would you choose these two people over others?

Activity A-2: Five Political Resources: Wealth, Status, Ideas, Skills, Information

There are many different kinds of political systems. Some are small groups like student clubs or a few related groups like a school. Other political systems are larger. They include many different groups in a city, state or nation. A system may include many nations interacting in peace or war, trade agreements or political alliances. In a very real sense, the world is a political system where resource allocations in Japan make a difference thousands of miles away in Great Britain.

Each of these systems is different in some ways. Yet they also have many similarities. They often have common problems to solve -- who will rule, how money will be spent, or who will be a member of the system. When people confront these problems, they use political resources to solve them.

What are different types of political resources? How do different groups use political resources? What are the consequences of different distributions and uses of political resources? Read on to find answers to these questions.

(1)

Political Resources

Wealth

Information

Status

Skills

Ideas

(2)

Resources are things which people in a group value.

(3)

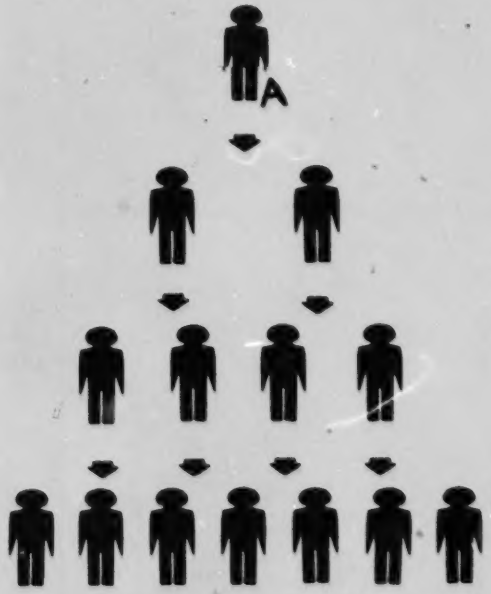
When people use resources to influence the activities of a group, we say that they are using political resources.

(4)

Wealth can be used to influence others -- to help one gain something of value.

(5)

Status, the position one holds in a group, can be a political resource. In this group, person A has the highest status. This high status can be used to influence others in the group.



(6)

Ideas can be used to influence others. Thus, ideas can be a political resource. This woman is writing her ideas to a representative in Congress.

(7)

This man is using skill in speaking as a political resource.

(8)

Information can be used to influence the way things are done in a group. Thus, information can be a political resource.

(9)

A person who can give on withhold favors has political resources.

"If you help me win the election Williams, you'll be a big man in City Hall"

(10)

A person who can carry out threats of punishment has political resources.

"Hello Williams, if we don't win, you lose."

(11)

Is this minister using political resources?

_____ yes _____ no _____ uncertain

Explain. _____

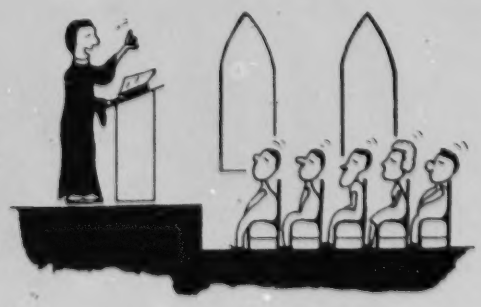
_____

_____

_____

_____

"As a man of God, I urge you to vote against the corrupt political bosses!!"



(12)

Is the man on the sidewalk using political resources to influence the driver in this situation?

_____ yes _____ no _____ uncertain

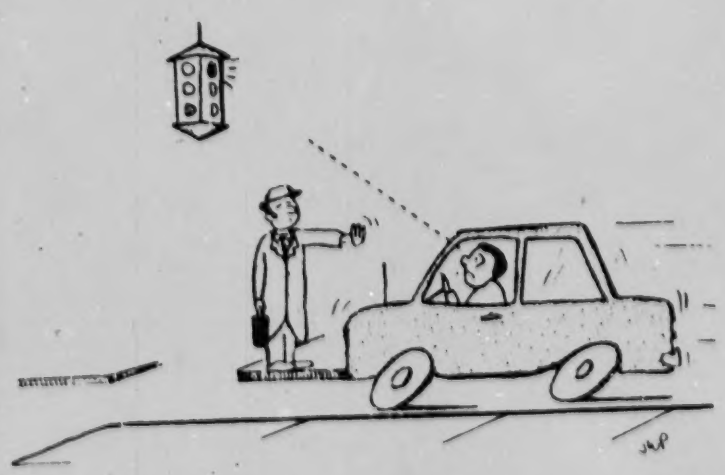
Explain. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____



(13)

Is this man using political resources?

____ yes ____ no ____ uncertain

Explain. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

"I have an offer you can't refuse!!!"

(14)

Is this army officer using political resources in this situation?

____ yes ____ no ____ uncertain

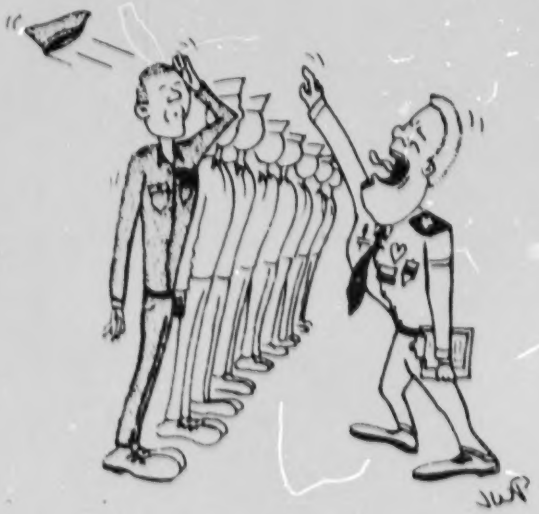
Explain. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____



(15)

a. Which of the groups in the following table has more political resources?

____ Group A ____ Group B ____ Group C

b. Which group is more likely to gain political objectives?

____ Group A ____ Group B ____ Group C

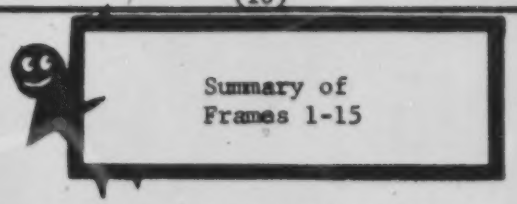
c. Explain your answers to the two preceding questions? _____

_____

	GROUPS A	B	C
Average years of schooling	8	11	14
Average Age	35	58	30
Average yearly income	$7,500	$11,200	$15,700
Percent of group who are officers of organizations	3%	9%	20%
Percent of group who are married	70%	80%	50%

27

(16)



1. Resources are things which people in a group value.

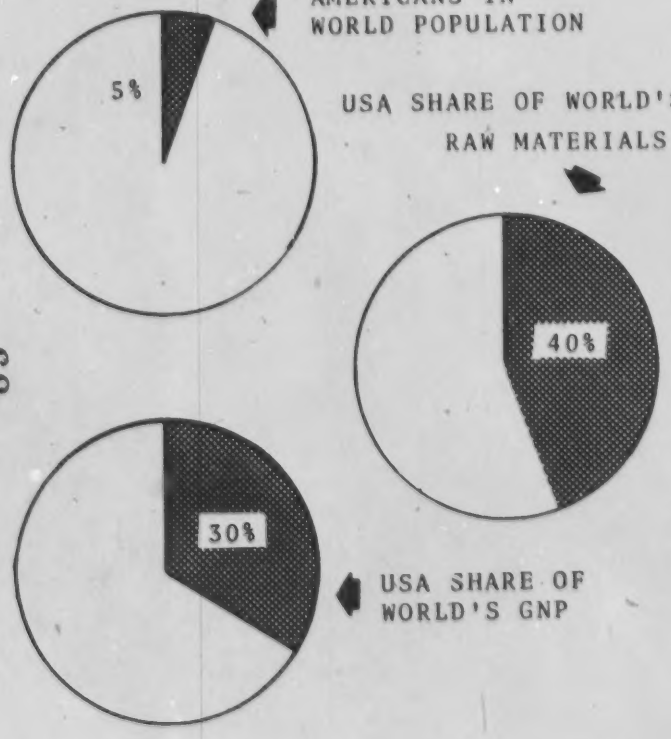
2. When resources are used to help one act politically, we call them political resources.

3. Five important political resources are wealth, status, ideas, skills, information.

(17)

The Political Uses of Wealth

The USA has more wealth than other countries.



*GNP refers to the total value of goods and services produced in a year.

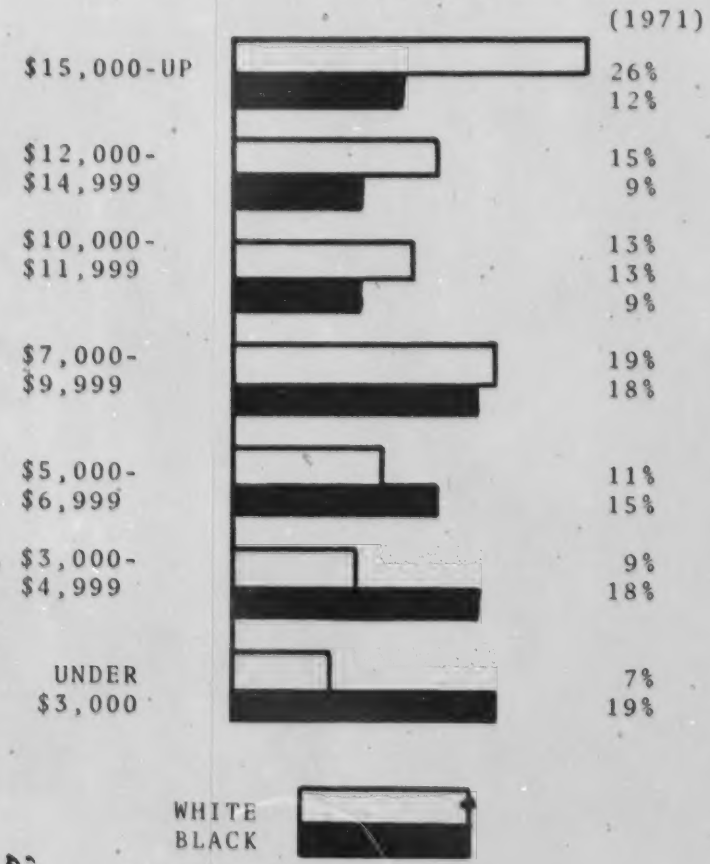
(18)

The leaders of the USA use their enormous resources to help them achieve political objectives in world affairs.

(19)

Some groups within the American political system have more wealth than others, which gives them an advantage in political activities.

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY INCOME



29

(20)

The following data shows the great inequality of wealth between racial groups in the USA.

Median Income of Families, 1972

Black. $6,864

White. $11,549

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME OF $10,000 OR MORE PER YEAR

(21)

What are some likely political consequences of the differences in wealth shown in Frames 19 and 20?

3e

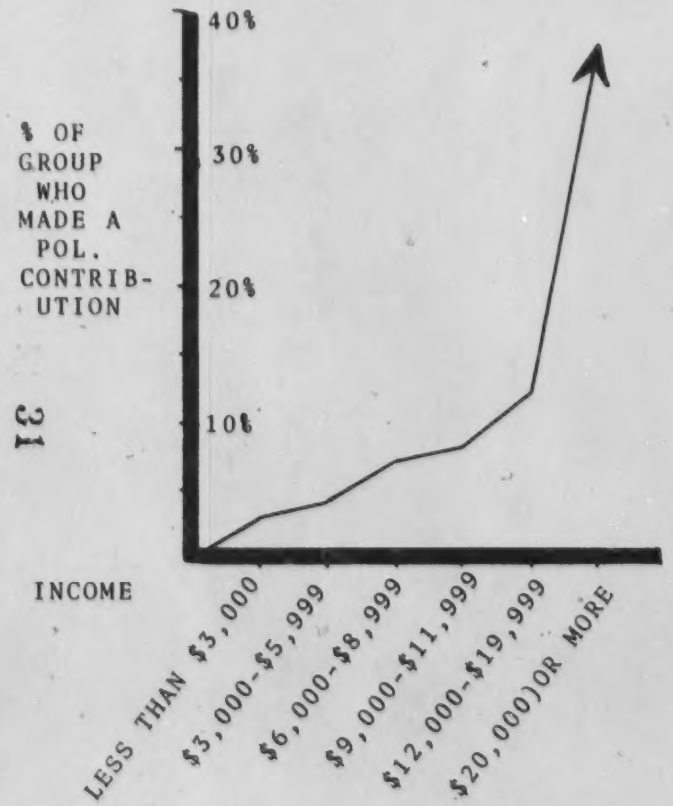
(22)

Differences in money can lead to differences in political influence. For example, those with more money can make large contributions to the election campaign funds of candidates for public office. It is well known that winning candidates are open to influence by those who helped elect them.

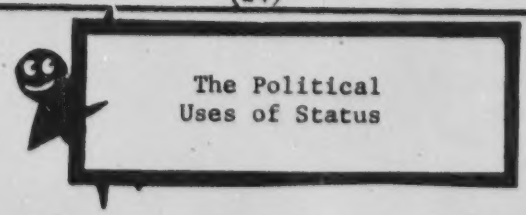
(23)

This graph shows the relationship of income to campaign contributions. Those who earn the most are able to give the most. Thus, they have an advantage in trying to influence public officials.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS, 1968

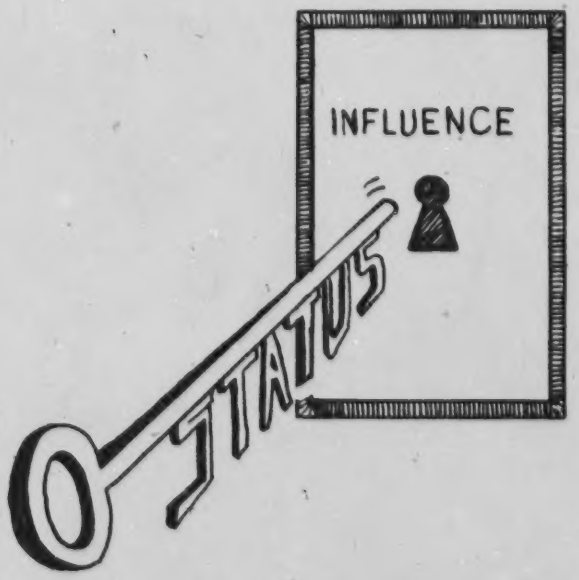


(24)



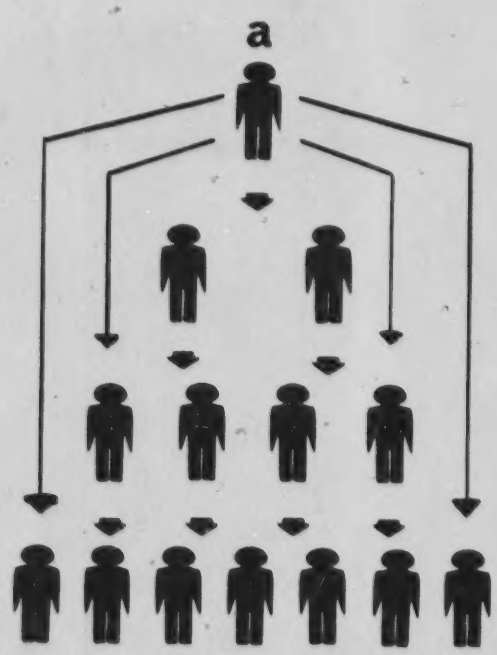
The Political Uses of Status

Status, the position that one has in a group is a key to influence.



(25)

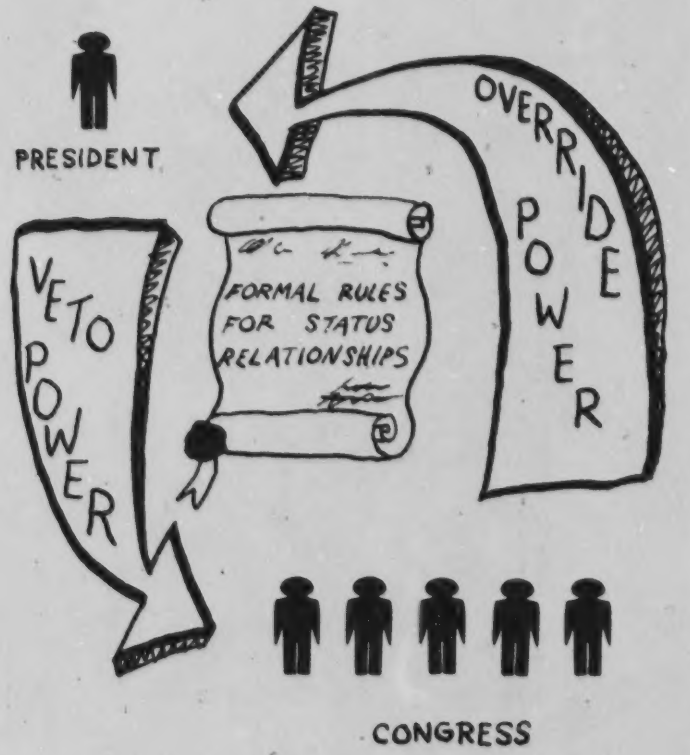
Person "A" has the highest status and the most influence in this group.



32

(26)

Some status relationships are <u>formal</u>. That is, they are defined by law. For example, the <u>Constitution</u> of the USA says that the President can veto bills passed by a majority of the members of Congress. But the Congress can override the President's veto with a two-thirds vote of the members against it. This particular relationship between the President and the Congress is based on law. Thus, it is an example of a <u>formal</u> status relationship.



Some status relationships are informal. That is, they are <u>not</u> based on law. A voter may be in a position of <u>informal</u> influence with a government official who represents him or her because of a close friendship with the public official. Due to ties of affection and shared experiences, the voter may be able to persuade the government official to use his public office to help him or her in some way.

GENTLEMEN, I'VE ARRIVED AT MY DECISION!
AFTER MANY A LATE NIGHT SPENT PUTTING THE OLD BUSINESS MIND TO WORK...
WHEN I REALLY BEGAN TO LOOK AT THE BLOOD AND GUTS OF THE ISSUE....
MY WIFE DECIDED THAT WE SHOULDN'T SELL!
JWR 1/74

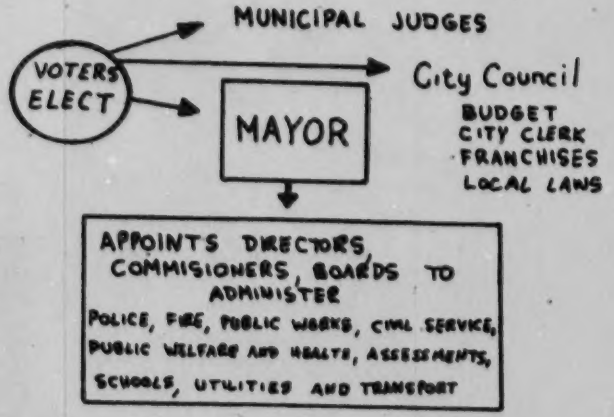
34

(1) Identify one informal status relationship and one formal status relationship in these pictures.

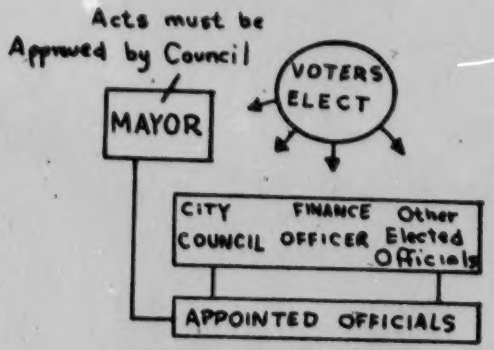
(a) Informal relationship: _____

(b) Formal relationship: _____

MAYOR-COUNCIL PLAN #1



MAYOR-COUNCIL PLAN #2



Are the status relationships shown here formal or informal? _____

In which of these plans for city government is the mayor in a stronger position of influence?

_____

Why? _____

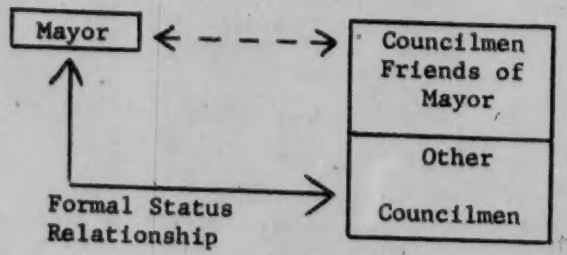
_____

_____

(30)

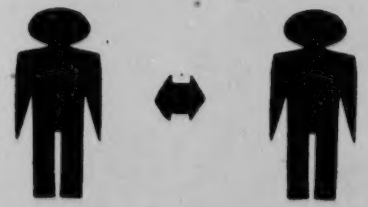
Often informal status relationships are meshed with formal relationships to produce a pattern or style of political influence. For example, the plans for a mayor-council city government in Frame 29 show formal influence relationships. What is not shown is the informal influence relationships that might bind the mayor and two of the Councilmen who are his/her close friends. This friendship could be the main basis for mutual support and cooperation in political matters.

Informal Status Relationship



(31)

Status relationships between individuals or groups tend to be reciprocal. That is, the influence flows both ways rather than only from one individual or group.



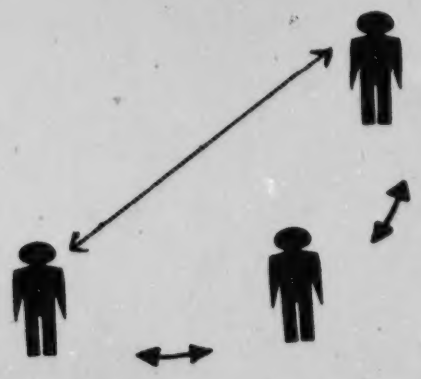
(32)

Some status relationships are very one-sided. One individual or group is in a position to dominate another overwhelmingly.

37

(33)

In some reciprocal influence relationships, individuals or groups may have the same degree of influence with one another.



(34)

In most reciprocal influence relationships, some individuals or groups are in a stronger position than others. But each has some degree of influence. In the diagram below, notice that individuals 1, 2, and 3 have direct status relationships. Individuals 2 and 4 and 3 and 5 also have direct relationships. Individual 1 can directly influence 4 and 5. But 4 and 5 can only indirectly influence 1 through their relationships with 2 and 3.

38

(35)

What does the diagram in Frame 36 indicate about which group is in a stronger position of influence due to status differences? _____

_____

Could those in lesser positions in Frame 36 have influence on others in this set of relationships?

_____ yes _____ no

Why? _____

_____

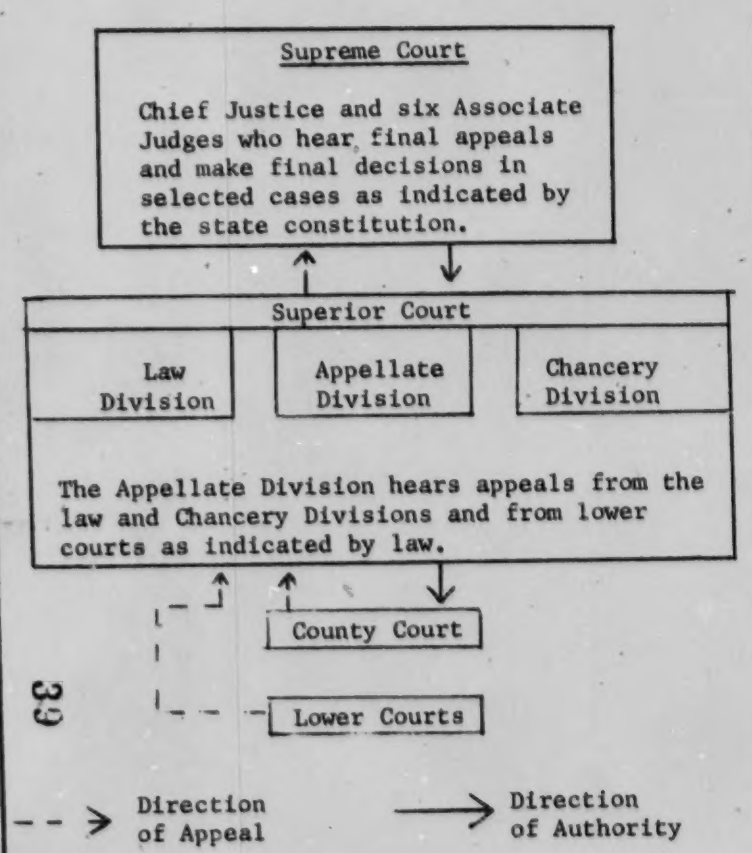
_____

Does the diagram show formal or informal status relationships? _____

_____

(36)

NEW JERSEY STATE COURT SYSTEM


Supreme Court
Chief Justice and six Associate Judges who hear final appeals and make final decisions in selected cases as indicated by the state constitution.
Superior Court
Law Division
Appellate Division
Chancery Division
The Appellate Division hears appeals from the law and Chancery Divisions and from lower courts as indicated by law.
County Court
Lower Courts
Direction of Appeal
Direction of Authority

39

(37)

Realize that status relationships pertain to particular times, places, and people. For example, in Frame 36, the Supreme Court Justices of New Jersey are in a position of influence over lower state courts. This status relationship only pertains to particular legal issues in the State of New Jersey. In other affairs, these Supreme Court Justices may have little or no influence over the Judges of lower courts.

(38)

What do the pictures in Frames 39-40 suggest about the extent of the status relationship between the general and the private?

(39)

(40)

(41)

Summary of Frames 17-40

1. Those with more wealth and status have important political advantages over those with less wealth and status.

2. Some groups in the USA political system have more status and wealth than others. Thus, they are more likely than others to have influence over the giving or withholding of important things in the system.

41

(42)

The Political Uses of Information, ideas, and skills

Information, ideas, and skills can help political actors to achieve their objectives.

(43)

Many public officials ask expert consultants to give them ideas and information to help them make decisions. These consultants can use their ideas and information to influence the giving or withholding of resources in a system.

(44)

The use of polling to gather information about voters for candidates in an election campaign is an example of an important political resource. Being "in the know" about the opinions of voters can help a candidate conduct a campaign that appeals to the majority of voters.

(45)

Candidates who lack information about the voters' preferences may say or do things that could lose an election.

(46)

Those who are unable to obtain information about an issue have a serious disadvantage in trying to influence a decision about the issue.

(47)

In some political systems, belief in one political ideology is an important resource. A political ideology is a set of beliefs, or ideas, about principles, programs, and actions.

(48)

In this group those who believe in the "right" ideology are able to have a higher status and more influence in the group. The "nonbelievers" are treated as outcasts.

(49)

In some political systems there are many alternative political ideologies. It is not necessary to be a "true believer" in one preferred ideology to be an influential member of the system.

(50)

In any political system, those who are skilled users of information and ideas are more likely to have influence than are unskilled people.

DEAR SIR,
YOUR VOTE IN FAVOR OF A NEW TAX HIKE DID NOT GO UNNOTICED BY YOUR CONSTITUENTS. WE SINCERELY HOPE YOU WILL RECONSIDER.
Signed: Taxpayer
Dear Crook, (bum) your a disgrase to us voterrs

(51)

Examples of political skills are speaking ability, organizing ability, bargaining and negotiating ability, decision-making ability, and leadership ability.

46

(52)

One indicator of who has political skills is educational attainment. Those who have had more formal education have had the opportunity to learn information, ideas, and skills that can be used for political purposes.

(53)

There is an unequal distribution of educational opportunity in the USA. This inequality in education contributes to inequality in political skills.

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AGES 25-34 WHO HAVE COMPLETED FOUR YEARS OF COLLEGE (1972)

47

(54)

a. What does the evidence in the diagram below suggest about who has more or less political skills in the USA?

_____

_____

b. What does the evidence suggest about who has more or less political influence? _____

_____

Income Education

	Low	High
Low	X	
High		X

(55)

Another indicator of political skill is a person's sense of civic competence. This means a person's belief that he/she can and ought to try to influence the decisions of government officials.

I'M NOT SATISFIED WITH THE DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES AROUND HERE! MY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WILL HEAR FROM ME!! I'M A PART OF THIS SYSTEM AND I CAN INFLUENCE !!
THE WAY I SEE IT, SOME PEOPLE HAVE RESOURCES AND SOME DON'T, AND THAT'S THE WAY IT IS.... I CAN'T CHANGE THINGS...

48

(56)

Summary of
Frames 42-55

1. Those with more and better information, ideas, and skills have important political advantages over those with less of those resources.

2. Some groups in the USA political system have more and better information, ideas, and skills than others. Thus, they are more likely than others to have influence over the giving or withholding of important things in the system.

What is the relationship of political resources to having influence in a group. Show this relationship by putting X's in the correct boxes in this diagram.

Political Resources	Probability of Having Influence in a Group: Lower	Higher
Few	A.	B.
Many	C.	D.

Can you state the relationship shown in this diagram? _____

a. Look at this chart. Which group(s) is/are likely to have the most influence?

_____ Group A _____ Group B _____ Group C _____ Group D _____ Group E

_____ Group F

Types of Political Resources	Groups A	B	C	D	E	F
Money	H	M	L	L	L	L
Education	H	M	L	L	L	L
Speaking Skills	H	M	L	L	L	L
Organizing Skills	H	M	L	L	L	L
Information	H	M	L	L	L	L

H = high M = medium L = low

*Each group includes the same number of people

b. Which group(s) is/are likely to have the least influence?

_____ Group A _____ Group B

_____ Group C _____ Group D

_____ Group E _____ Group F

c. Explain your answers for questions a and b.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Activity A-3: Political Resources Among Chicago's Black People

Apply what you've learned about political resources to the following case study about Chicago politics. Use the questions following the case to guide your analysis.

Resources of Blacks in Chicago in the 1960's

Compared to whites, black people in Chicago have ranked low in political resources. As a group blacks have had much less formal education and income. Most have less opportunity to acquire important political information and skills. Consequently they have not been able to achieve many positions of high status in government or business.

In 1965, black people were more than 1/3 of the total population of Chicago. However, their representation in high status public or private offices was minimal. For example, black people occupied only 5 percent of the top policy making positions in the governments of Chicago and Cook county, where Chicago is located. Blacks occupied less than 6 percent of the higher status positions in important private institutions, such as banks, labor unions, the public school system, etc.

A team of political scientists who studied "black power" in Chicago concluded that blacks "hold less than 1 percent of the effective power in the Chicago metropolitan area....it is clear that, at this time, Negroes in the Chicago area lack the power to make changes in the areas of housing, jobs, and education."*

*Harold M. Baron, Harriet Stulman, Richard Rothstein, and Rennard Davis, "Black Powerlessness in Chicago," Transaction, November, 1968.

Political Life in the Woodlawn Neighborhood

Chicago's Woodlawn neighborhood is an especially good example of both black powerlessness in Chicago and what might be done to bring about change. Woodlawn is a slum neighborhood in the heart of Chicago's teeming, unsavory south side. Between 1950 and 1960, the neighborhood changed from a white slum to a black slum. In 1950, the population was 86% white. In 1960, it had become 86% back and was listed among the 10 "least desirable" of Chicago's 75 community areas.

The living conditions in Woodlawn were wretched. Nearly 50% of the housing units were in barely liveable condition. The streets were cracked and littered. Family incomes were low, and over 12% of the men were without jobs. Most residents had few skills, and many had not finished high school.

Danger stalked the street of Woodlawn. The police arrested several people daily for "assault and battery." Gang wars between the Blackstone Rangers and the Disciples were an ever-present threat. Petty criminals lurked about looking for victims to "con" or to "mug."

The city government was not very responsive to the needs of the kind of people who lived in Woodlawn. The public officials downtown hardly knew what these needs were, since the people did not know how to make their wishes known to them. Furthermore, the political chiefs didn't feel any pressure to find out the needs of these poor people, since they had no "clout" with which to threaten the security and privileges of the politicians.

The people of Woodlawn didn't know how to acquire and use "clout." They laughed at those who urged them to vote on election day and to be active, concerned citizens. "Why should we vote?" they would say.

"Nothing good would come of it. Why should we join a civic organization? Meetings are just a waste of time." The popular political slogan was: "You can't beat City Hall, so why try?"

The people had few resources, and they knew it. Most had given up hope of changing things, but not everyone.

In 1960, a few community leaders met and invited Saul Alinsky to help them. Alinsky was a political organizer who believed that poor people must learn to join forces in order to win important political objectives. Alinsky told the Woodlawn leaders that "the first objective in the ghetto is building an organization that wields power. You haven't got money, so your own fellowmen are your only source of strength."

Alinsky was not interested in leading the Woodlawn community or in bringing outside leaders into the neighborhood. Rather he aimed to help the people learn how to organize and lead themselves so that they could have more influence on the decisions that would affect the quality of their lives.

During 1961, Alinsky and his assistants helped the people to create The Woodlawn Organization (TWO). TWO was a collection of 97 smaller organizations including church groups, businessmen's associations, neighborhood clubs, social groups, and street gangs. The organizations represented in TWO had a membership of almost 30,000 people out of a total population in Woodlawn of about 120,000.

On March 23, 1962, over 1,200 representatives of the Woodlawn community met to approve a constitution for TWO and to elect officers. TWO was ready to move on its own, and Alinsky and his assistants were ready to withdraw.

Perhaps the most significant event of this day was the appearance of Mayor Daley. Upon first hearing of Alinsky's efforts to build TWO, the officials in City Hall predicted his failure. They believed that no one could develop in Woodlawn an effective political organization to challenge "the machine." Later, Daley tried to discredit Alinsky and TWO by calling them upatriotic agicators who wanted to overthrow American ideals. However, Daley finally had decided to take the Woodlawn Organization seriously.

Since 1962, TWO has tried to put pressure on Daley's "machine" many times. TWO first caught Daley's attention with a "vote-in" demonstration in front of the Mayor's office. A forty-six bus caraven carried more than 2,000 Woodlawn residents to City Hall to register to vote. The purposes of the demonstration were: (1) to gain publicity for the newly organized TWO; and (2) to show Mayor Daley that a new political force had emerged in one of Chicago's forgotten neighborhoods.

TWO's first serious clash with city officials developed over educational policy. TWO claimed that the schools in the poor neighborhoods were inferior. They said that more money and care were given to schools in upper-income neighborhoods while the schools in poor or black communities were neglected. At first no one paid attention to TWO's charges.

TWO soon gained attention for their views about school reforms through the use of some uncommon (at that time) political tactics. Three hundred members of TWO picketed in front of the downtown business office of the school board president to get his attention. They succeeded. TWO staged a "Death Watch" at the Board of Education. TWO members attended every public school board meeting wearing black capes to

suggest the mourning of black parents for the plight of their children in inferior public schools.

When the superintendent of schools refused to meet with TWO leaders, a group of fifity demonstrators held a "sit-in" in his reception room. They refused to leave until he heard their complaints. He agreed to talk with them.

In order to protest the severe overcrowding of neighborhood schools, TWO organized a one-day student boycott* of the schools. This tactic helped TWO to gain wide-spread publicity in the newspapers and on television and radio for their arguments about the need to improve their schools.

TWO used similar tactics to presssure neighborhood businessmen and apartment owners to stop cheating the people of Woodlawn. Boycotts were organized against stores where customers were short-changed, or where the prices of products were unfairly high. Rent strikes* were organized against landlords who refused to repair their apartment buildings or who wouldn't heat their buildings sufficiently during the winter.

In one case, they embarrassed a landlord into responding to their needs. A group of thirty-five TWO members drove to a rich Chicago neighborhood where a Woodlawn apartment owner lived and distributed printed handbills which said:

---

*A boycott is a demonstration in which the protesters urge everyone to stay away from some place, such as a school or a store, in order to dramatize some complaint about the place.

*A rent strike means that all the tenants in a building refuse to pay the rent until the landlord agress to fix-up the apartment as he is supposed to do.

> Did you know one of your neighbors is a slum landlord? His name is Jerome Fassnecht, 2704 East 88th Street. He leases and won't fix a slum in Woodlawn where the tenants are so mad they've called a rent strike.

Some observers complained that TWO's tactics were not proper. They said that if a landlord is treating tenants unfairly, the tenants should take the landlord to court. If a store owner is cheating customers, he should be brought to court. If the schools need to be improved, their citizens should write letters to the school board or talk to their representatives on the City Council. These are the accepted ways of making complaints in America.

The leaders of TWO, and Saul Alinsky, disagree strongly with this argument. They say that usual political tactics have never worked for poor people. They have not had the necessary resources to use the courts to prosecute property-owners who cheat them. They have not had the resources to directly influence government officials in the usual ways. As Alinsky said: "The only thing the poor have as far as power goes is their bodies." To get power, they've got to organize those bodies and use them to put pressure on the system until they get the "fair deal" that is so often withheld from them.

TWO has deviated from the usual pattern of political participation in "machine-dominated" Chicago. Before TWO, the residents of Woodlawn were passive receivers of control by leaders from outside the neighborhood. The few political participants supported the system by voting for "machine" candidates in public elections or by taking part in "machine-led" rallies or civic cermonies. Since TWO, the residents of Woodlawn have tried to promote their own interests, even when these interests have conflicted with those of "the machine."

Despite many attempts from City Hall to undermine and discredit the organization, TWO has survived. It still is the most effective tool that the people of Woodlawn have to pry resources from the political system in Chicago. However, despite its small successes, TWO has been unable to basically improve the lot of most of the people in Woodlawn. In addition, TWO has lost its biggest battles with City Hall. The people of Woodlawn have been unable to muster the resources needed to win decisive victories against a still powerful "machine," but they haven't stopped trying.

Dear Landlord:
would you mind taking a look into our rodent problem? No big hurry — but don't expect any rent till you do it!
-5A
P.S. - the water and electricity would be nice! you promised

1. Which of these resources were possessed to a greater or lesser extent by the black political participants in this case? Explain.

   _____ a. High Status

   _____ b. Money

   _____ c. Information

   _____ d. Many political skills

   _____ e. Ideas about group solidarity and political tactics

2. Which of these statements best describes the distribution of political resources among Chicago's black people? Why?

   _____ a. They had more resources than most other groups in Chicago

   _____ b. They had less resources than most other groups in Chicago

   _____ c. They had about as many resources as other groups in Chicago

3. Which of these statements best describes the political activities of Chicago's black people? Why?

   _____ a. They had much more to say about the distribution of resources than other groups in Chicago

   _____ b. They had much less to say about the distribution of resources than other groups in Chicago

   _____ c. They had about as much to say about the distribution of resources than other groups in Chicago

4. Why did the people of Woodlawn use public demonstrations rather than other political activities? Do you agree with their reasons?

5. Suppose you have been asked to be a consultant to The Woodlawn Organization. As a consultant, you have been asked to tell the group what it might do to achieve its goals. What advice would you give? Why?

PART B: KNOWING ABOUT POLITICAL RESOURCES IN YOUR SCHOOL (or in other political settings)

People are curious; they want to know about the world around them. People also need knowledge in order to achieve goals. Auto mechanics need knowledge about internal combustion engines in order to repair cars. Doctors need knowledge of the human body in order to cure sick people. Politicians need knowledge about the behavior of voters in order to win elections.

Knowledge can be a very valuable political resource. To act without necessary knowledge (when the knowledge can be obtained easily) is to court failure. To act on the basis of pertinent knowledge is to increase greatly the possibility of successful achievement of goals. How can you acquire new knowledge about political life in your school that can help you to plan and carry out political activities more effectively?

In UNIT ONE, you were taught how to use an "observation record" as one way of learning about political life in groups. You learned observation skills, and you did a systematic observation study to find some answers to questions about politics in your school.

UNIT TWO provides an opportunity to learn how to do survey studies as another way of knowing about political life in your school.

Activity B-1: Knowing When to Use Survey Studies

Survey studies are a means to gather, in an orderly step-by step way, information from a relatively large number of individuals, usually by asking questions of the individuals.

When pollsters gather information about the preferences of voters in a presidential election, they are doing a survey study. They ask a "relatively large number of individuals" which of the candidates they prefer or what their opinions are about current events or issues.

Suppose you wanted to find an answer to this question: What do the students in my school believe about how much say the students as a whole have on decisions about enforcing school rules?

To gather pertinent evidence, you might do a survey study. You might ask your fellow students to respond to this question: How much influence do you believe that students have in decisions about the making or enforcing of school rules?

_____ Final say

_____ Lots of influence

_____ Little influence

_____ No influence

After asking this question to the respondents, you would need to count how many people answered the question one way or another. By counting answers to questions used in a survey study, it is possible for everyone to agree about how many, or how few, of the students believed that students can have "no influence" in decisions about school rules. For example, suppose 1,200 of 1,500 respondents at your school

said that students can have "no influence." Everyone can agree that 75% believed that students have no influence in decisions about school rules at the school.

Not all inquiry questions about political life should be answered through a survey study. Sometimes it is best to do an interview study of one or a few people or to observe human behavior directly in order to gather evidence. A survey should be used whenever a question that you want to answer (1) pertains to a large number of people and (2) can be answered by using a questionnaire to gather evidence.

The point of a survey study is to acquire knowledge about a large number of people. In contrast, a systematic observation study is often designed to gather information about one person, or a few people. Suppose someone wants to answer this question: What proportion of the parents of students at your school believe that they can influence the decisions of the school board? In this instance, he would do a survey, because he needs to gain knowledge about a large number of people.

In contrast, suppose someone wants to answer this question: how does the principal of your high school manage a faculty meeting. This inquiry question pertains to only one relatively small group rather than to a very large group, such as all the people in your city. Thus, systematic observation is the appropriate inquiry method to use to answer this question.

It is very important to fit your method of knowing to your knowledge problem. An inquirer who applies the wrong methods to his knowledge problem is like a workman who uses the wrong tool; for example, like a mechanic who tries to turn screws with a chisel instead of a screwdriver.

Following are some guidelines for knowing when to use surveys or systematic observation to gather data about political life.

USE SURVEYS BECAUSE:

1. Surveys are <u>efficient</u> ways to gather evidence. When you know what you want to find out, they can be easily done in a short time and with little effort on your part or on the part of those you want information from.

2. Surveys allow you to gain <u>a large amount of evidence</u> from many people. If you want to make general statements about a political unit, you need to be sure you gather enough evidence to support your claims.

3. Surveys often allow people to express ideas about "hot" issues or topics which they would not share with someone in an interview situation.

USE SYSTEMATIC OBSERVATION BECAUSE:

1. An observer can record political activities <u>as they happen</u> rather than relying on people's memories.

2. An observer is sure that the information is <u>accurate</u> rather than subject to the interpretation or opinions of individuals.

3. An observer can collect <u>all the relevant evidence</u> because he/she is recording it as it happens.

Which of the following knowledge problems can be solved by doing a survey study? Indicate your answers by making a checkmark in the blank next to the number of each item.

_____ 1. Miles Nervine has decided to run for President of the Westside High Student Council. He wants to plan his campaign wisely. Thus, Miles <u>needs to find out which groups in the school</u> are more or less likely to support him.

_____ 2. Jeanie Gerard has been very bothered lately. She wants to know why the four officers of the Student Service Club are never able to get anything done. She decides she needs to know more about how the four officers work, and how they make and carry out decisions. Then maybe she can recommend some changes that can make the club more effective.

_____ 3. Frank Farmer needs to know what students in both Westside and Eastside High Schools think are the most important things to be done to improve the two schools. There are almost 4,000 students enrolled in both schools. He feels that he has a very difficult problem of trying to find out the opinions of so many students.

In Unit One, you were asked to do a systematic observation study of political experiences in your school. What data did you gather through this study? What are your findings about political resources, activities, and experiences in the group you observed? Your teacher will ask several students to report their observations based on use of the "Group Political Experiences Observation Record" on pages 174-175 of Unit One.

After discussing findings of your systematic observation studies, discuss these questions.

1. When would you use a survey study to find out about political experiences in a group?

2. How would you conduct a survey study to find out about political experiences?

Activity B-2: Asking the Right Questions

Asking the right questions is a key to knowledge. A basic part of knowing about politics, or anything else, is asking questions which lead you to the evidence you need to have. You can be certain that if your questions don't make sense, your answers won't make sense. What is a "good" question for inquiry which can be answered by doing a survey study?

Suppose that you want to do a survey study about political influences in your school. What are good questions that you might seek to answer? Look at the following four pairs of questions and indicate (1) the better question in each pair and (2) the reasons for your evaluation of each pair of questions. (Place a checkmark in the blank next to the "best" question in each pair and write the reason for your evaluation in the space provided under each pair of questions.)

_____ 1. (a) What proportion of the students in our school believe that they have a high level of political influence in the school?

_____ (b) Who has the big clout in our school?

_____

_____

_____ 2. (a) Are students with big feet more likely than those with small feet to be influential?

(b) Are female or male students in our school more likely to believe that they have a high level of political influence in the school?

_____

_____

_____ 3. (a) What type of political influence pattern exists in our school?

(b) Is the pattern of political resources in our school more or less similar to the pattern of political resources found in one of these types of political systems: elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, participant?

_____

_____

_____ 4. (a) Does the captain of the basketball team believe that he has a high level of political influence in the school?

_____ (b) What proportion of the students in our school believe that they have a high level of political influence in our school?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

The better questions in each pair on the preceeding page are : 1a, 2b, 3b, and 4b. The better questions have three characteristics in common: (1) they are CLEAR, (2) they are SIGNIFICANT, and (3) they are about a LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE.

A clear question is easily understood. It helps you to focus exactly on what you need to know to answer the question. In contrast, an unclear question is like a poorly focused moving picture which is seen as a confusing blur on a movie screen.

Good Questions Are Clear

Question 1b is not as clear as 1a. It is more general and vague than question 1a. In addition, question 1b includes slang words, "the big clout," which are ambiguous. These slang words may mean different things to different people.

Question 3a is not as clear as question 3b. It is more general and vague than 3b as it does not specify exactly what "type" refers to.

Both questions 2a and 2b are clear. However, question 2a is not very significant. A significant question is worth knowing about. Before spending your time, effort, energy to answer a question, you should always ask: What difference will it make to anybody if I answer this question? Will anybody care about the answers? Or will people say, so what, when you are finished with your work?

How can you tell whether a question is significant or not? Common sense can help sometimes. For example, it would be foolish to spend much time or effort trying to answer this question: Are the shoe sizes of Democrats larger than the shoe sizes of Republicans? You could answer this question. But, if you did, people would be likely to say SO WHAT?

What is or is not a significant question often depends upon who you are and what you need to know. For example, an answer to question 2b might be very significant to people interested in comparing the political behavior of females and males. To some others, it might be a "so what" kind of question.

Both questions 4a and 4b are clear and many people would consider them to be significant. However, not all clear and significant questions

are answered through a survey study. It is very important to fit your method of knowing to your question. An inquirer who applies the wrong methods to a question is like a workman who uses the wrong tool; for example, like a mechanic who tries to turn screws with a chisel instead of a screwdriver. Remember that survey studies are used to answer questions that pertain to a large number of people, such as question 4b. In contrast, question 4a can be answered through an interview of one person. Thus, the survey method doesn't fit this question.

In order to determine what you have learned so far about questions and surveys, try to complete this exercise. Following are three pairs of questions which you might seek to answer through a survey study. Select the better question in each pair and tell why you selected it.

_____ 1. (a) Are people who voted in the last Student Council election more or less likely to be left-handed than those who did not vote?

_____ (b) Were males or females more likely to have voted in the last Student Council election?

_____

_____

_____

_____ 2. (a) Who has political influence?

_____ (b) Are 12th grade students more or less likely than 9th grade students to have political influence in our school?

_____

_____

_____

_____ 3. (a) What proportion of the students in our school have a high level of political influence in the school?

_____ (b) Does Margie Jackson have a high level of political influence in the school?

As part of a subsequent activity in UNIT TWO, you will have the assignment of doing a survey study about political resources in your school. As of now, what inquiry questions about political resources in your school would you want to answer through a survey study. Write two or three "good" inquiry questions in the space below.

Activity B-3: Asking and Answering Questions About Political Resources and Influence

In Activity B-1, you were introduced to the survey as a method of inquiry -- as a way of gaining knowledge about politics in your school. In this lesson, you have the opportunity to learn more about how to do a survey study about political resources in your school.

Suppose that some students at Westside High School want to inquire about the answer to this question: What proportion of the students in our school believe that they can have a lot of influence on what rules are made for the school?

Following are four alternative propositions, or reasonable guesses, about the answer to the above inquiry question.

Proposition 1: A very low proportion (0-25%) of students at Westside High School believe that they can have a lot of influence on what rules are made for the school.

Proposition 2: A low proportion (25-50%) of students at Westside High School believe that they can have a lot of influence on what rules are made for the school.

Proposition 3: A high proportion (50-75%) of students at Westside High School believe that they can have a lot of influence on what rules are made for the school.

Proposition 4: A very high proportion (75-100%) of students at Westside High School believe that they can have a lot of influence on what rules are made for the school.

Doing a Survey About Political Influence

To know which of the propositions is true or false one needs to do a survey of Westside High students to gather evidence about which students believe they have a lot of influence on what rules are made in the school.

The student surveyors can gather evidence in their study by asking students at Westside High to respond to this questionnaire item.

> Do you agree or disagree with this statement? IF I GOT TOGETHER WITH 10 OR 12 OTHER STUDENTS LIKE ME, WE COULD HAVE A LOT OF INFLUENCE ON WHAT RULES ARE MADE FOR OUR SCHOOL.
>
> _____ Agree
>
> _____ Disagree
>
> _____ Uncertain

The next step in doing this survey study is selecting a population or a sample of respondents. Suppose that the questionnaire item is administered to a random sample of 300 students at Westside High School. After examining the responses of each individual in the sample, the following table is constructed.

Table 1: Number of Respondents who Agree or Disagree with This Statement -- IF I GOT TOGETHER WITH 10 OR 12 OTHER STUDENTS LIKE ME, WE COULD HAVE A LOT OF INFLUENCE ON WHAT RULES ARE MADE FOR OUR SCHOOL.

Responses	Number Responding
Agree	60
Disagree	180
Uncertain	60
TOTAL	300

In order to make standard comparisons between the answers of the different groups, one needs to convert the numbers reported in Table 1 into percentages. Percent means per hundred. The percentage figure in this case tells how many students per hundred students responded with each of these answers: agree, disagree, uncertain.

To figure a percentage, first divide the number in each group by the total number in the group. Then multiply by 100 to obtain a percent number. For example, the number of people in the sample that responded "agree" is 60. The total number of people in the sample is 300. To obtain the percentage of those who responded "agree," divide 60 by 300 and multiply by 100. Thus, the percentage is $\frac{60}{300} \times 100 = .20$ or twenty percent.

The percentage of those who responded "disagree" is $\frac{180}{300} \times 100 = .60$ or sixty percent.

The percentage of those who responded "uncertain" is $\frac{60}{300} \times 100 = .20$ or twenty percent.

The proportion of those who responded "agree," "disagree," or "uncertain," is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Proportion of Respondents Who Agree or Disagree With This Statement -- IF I GOT TOGETHER WITH 10 OR 12 OTHER STUDENTS LIKE ME WE COULD HAVE A LOT OF INFLUENCE ON WHAT RULES ARE MADE FOR OUT SCHOOL.

Responses	Proportion of Respondents
Agree	20% (N60)
Disagree	60% (N180)
Uncertain	20% (N60)
TOTAL	100% (N300)

The evidence in Table 2 supports proposition 1: A very low proportion (0-25%) of students at Westside High School believe that they can have a lot of influence on what rules are made for the school.

Suppose that you want to find out which of these propositions is supported by evidence.

Proposition 1: A very high proportion (75-100%) of students in our school believe that their fellow students have little or not influence on decisions about the making of school rules.

Proposition 2: A high proportion (50-75%) of students in our school believe that their fellow students have little or no influence on decisions about the making of school rules.

Proposition 3: A low proportion (25-50%) of students in our school believe that their fellow students have little or no influence on decisions about the making of school rules.

Proposition 4: A very low proportion (0-25%) of students in our school believe that their fellow students have little or no influence on decisions about the making of school rules.

You select a random sample of 200 students in your school. You ask these students to respond to the following questionnaire item:

How much influence do you believe that students have in decisions about the making of school rules?

_____ Students have the final say.

_____ Students have a lot of influence.

_____ Students have a little influence.

_____ Students have no influence.

The response of students are shown in Table 3 on the following page.

Table 3: Number of Responses to This Question: How Much Influence Do You Believe That Students Have in Decisions About the Making of School Rules?

Responses	Number Responding
"final say"	0
"lot of influence"	40
"little influence"	100
"no influence"	60
TOTAL	200

Use the information in Table 3 to complete Table 4 correctly.

Table 4: Proportion of Responses to This Question: How Much Influence Do You Believe That Students Have on Decisions About The Making of School Rules?

Responses	Proportion Responding
"final say"	_____% (N_____)
"lot of influence"	_____% (N_____)
"little influence"	_____% (N_____)
"no influence"	_____% (N_____)

Which of the propositions stated at the beginning of the exercise (page 96) is supported by the evidence in Tables 3 and 4?

_____ Proposition 1

_____ Proposition 2

_____ Proposition 3

_____ Proposition 4

Judging Questionnaire Items

An instrument is a tool to gather evidence that can help us measure something. When you are very ill and have a fever, and a nurse wants to take your temperature, she uses an instrument, called a thermometer,

to measure your body heat. When a botanist wants to observe the cells of a leaf, she places a very small piece of the leaf under an instrument, called a microscope, that enables her to see things, such as the cells of a leaf, that she could not see with her eyes alone.

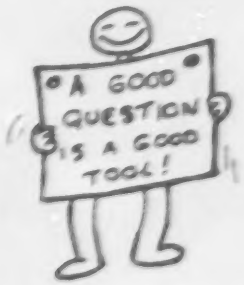
In a survey study, a questionnaire can be thought of as an instrument to gather evidence to help us decide whether propositions about people's beliefs and behavior are true or false. As a thermometer is an instrument that can be used to measure body heat, so questionnaires can be used to help us measure things such as a person's beliefs about political influence.

1.

2.

3.

4.



A bad questionnaire can ruin a survey study. Indeed a survey study can be no better than the items which one included in the data-gathering instrument or questionnaire. You probably have heard one of your friends say, "If you ask a silly question you will get a silly answer." This seems so obvious that it's a trite thing to say. But this common sense advice is so true; answers are only as good as the questions which prompt them.

A good question in a questionnaire means the same thing to everyone who answers it. For example, this is probably a question that means the same thing to all respondents:

What is your grade level in high school?

_____ 12th grade

_____ 11th grade

_____ 10th grade

_____ 9th grade

_____ other

This question would mean the same thing to all respondents, because it is CLEAR and UNBIASED. Clear questions are easily understood by all respondents. Unbiased questions do not suggest to the respondent that one answer is better than another.

Unclear and biased (loaded) questions are not likely to be interpreted by all respondents in the same way. For example, this is an UNCLEAR questionnaire item:

What do you think about political influence?

This question is very general and vague. Different respondents could very easily interpret it quite differently.

This is a LOADED questionnaire item:

> Do you believe that the arrogant teachers and administrators in this lousy high school care at all about the ideas of lowly students about how to run the school?

Obviously this question is biased against a positive answer. Emotional, or loaded, words such as "arrogant teachers," "lousy school" and "lowly students" could influence a respondent to answer the question negatively.

Clear and unbiased questions are reliable. Reliable questions mean the same thing to everyone who is asked to answer them. You can accurately compare the responses of people who interpret a question in the same way.

However, a good questionnaire item must be valid as well as reliable. A valid questionnaire item measures what you want to measure. It fits the propositions about which you are gathering evidence. For example, suppose you want to gather evidence to support or reject this proposition:

> Most students in our school believe that they can influence decisions of the Student Council.

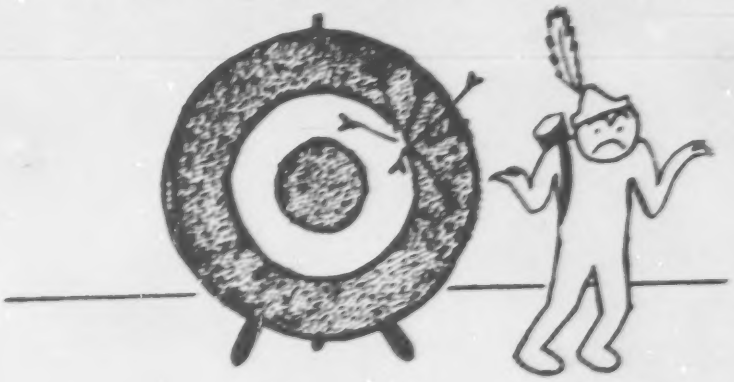
A valid questionnaire item must be directly related to this proposition. In this case, this is a valid questionnaire item: Do you believe that you can influence decisions of the Student Council? _____ yes _____ no _____ uncertain.

This questionnaire item is valid, because it can yield responses that can be used to support or reject the preceeding propositions about political influence.

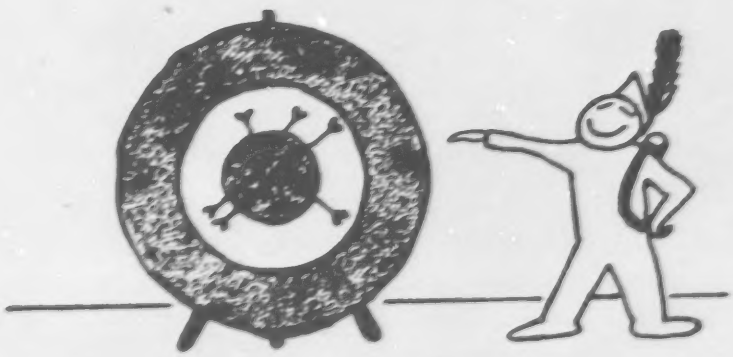
To yield "true" answers, that are comparable, questions must be both reliable and valid. For example, a reliable archer hits the same place on a target consistently. (See the pictures on the next page.)

Likewise, a reliable question yields the same answers over and over from different respondents. However, by itself reliability isn't good enough. A reliable archer may consistently hit the same place on the target, but this place is far from the "bullseye." This archer is reliable, but he is a poor archer. (see the pictures at the bottom of this page.) Likewise, a reliable question enables respondents to answer in the same way. But the answers may or may not be valid.

a RELIABLE and VALID question leads respondents to make accurate answers consistently. Likewise, a reliable and accurate archer hits the "bullseye" of the target consistently.



Reliable, But Not Accurate



 Reliable and Accurate

In Westside High School, there is a new school rule that requires all students to carry an identification card, which they must show in order to obtain school services or to participate in school events. Some students seem to be opposed to the rule. However, others seem to approve of the rule. In order to find out the opinion of students about the new rule, the Student Council is doing a school-wide opinion survey.

Following are two pictures showing interviewers asking questions of respondents in this survey about the I.D. card rule. Answer the questions that accompany each picture.

Would I Be Correct or incorrect in Assuming that in the event of A Direct confrontation involving these factions With respect to the I.D. Controversy, you Would take the side OF the majority?
?

1. Is this a "good" questionnaire item? _____ yes _____ no Why?

_____

_____

2. Is this likely to be a reliable and valid question? _____ yes _____ no

Why? _____

_____

_____

Asking and Answering Questions About Political Resources

Suppose you want to do a survey study about political resources in your school. What are good questions that you might try to answer?

In Activity B-2, you were told that good inquiry questions are both CLEAR and SIGNIFICANT. You also were told that the survey method should be used to answer clear and significant questions that pertain to a LARGE NUMBER of people.

Look at the three pairs of questions below. Which question in each pair is the better question to answer through a survey study?

_____ 1. (a) What proportion of the students in our school believe that they have many special political skills (how to organize, how to bargain, how to make good decisions, etc.)?

_____ (b) Do students in our school think they are slick politicos?

_____ 2. (a) Does the distribution of political wealth in our school fit one of these types of political systems: elite, bureaucratic, coalitional, participant?

_____ (b) How is political wealth distributed in our school?

_____ 3. (a) Does the President of the Student Council believe that she is well-informed about what goes on in the school?

_____ (b) What proportion of the students in our school believe that they are very well-informed about what goes on in the school?

The better questions in each pair are 1(a), 2(a), and 3(b). Question 1(b) is too vague. It also includes slang words, "slick politicos," which are ambiguous. Question 2(b) is more general and vague than 2(a). Both question 3(a) and 3(b) are clear and significant. However, the survey method is used to answer questions about a large number of people,

such as question 3(b). If you do not understand why questions 1(a), 2(a), and 3(b) are the better questions in each pair, then you should review pages 54 to 58 in Activity B-2.

Doing a Survey

Suppose that a group of students at Westside High School want to answer these two questions about political resources in their school: (1) What proportion of the students in our school believe that they are very well-informed about what goes on in the school? (2) Are female students more or less likely than males to believe that they are very well-informed about what goes on in the school?

The first step in doing this survey is writing questionnaire items that can be used to gather evidence with which to answer the preceding two inquiry questions. Suppose the students who are conducting this survey decide to use these questionnaire items to gather pertinent evidence.

Questionnaire Items

(1) Consider how much you now know about what goes on in the school. Do you think you are well-informed? (Circle the number in the scale below which indicates your judgment about how well-informed you are.)

Very Well-Informed 1 2 3 4 5 Not Well-Informed

(2) Are you a female or a male?

_____ female

_____ male

The second step in doing this survey is selecting either a population or a sample of respondents. Suppose that these two questionnaire items are administered to a representative sample of 300 of the 1,500 students at Westside High School.

The third step in doing this survey is to organize and intepret the responses of the sample of 300 students to the two questionnaire items. Tables 5 and 6 below show the results of the data processing activity.

Table 5: Students' Judgments (On a 1-5 Scale) of How Well-Informed They Are About What Goes On in the School

Responses	Percent Responding
1. Very well-informed.	20% (N60)
2.	25% (N75)
3.	30% (N90)
4.	15% (N45)
5. Not well-informed	10% (N30)
TOTAL.	100% (N300)

Table 6: Females and Males in This Study

Sex Identity	Percent Responding
Female.	53.3% (N160)
Male.	46.6% (N140)
TOTAL	99.9% (N300)

The evidence in Table 5 enables us to answer inquiry question 1 on page . The answer is that 20% of the students believe that they are very well-informed about what goes on in the school. However, neither Table 5 nor Table 6 enables us to answer inquiry question 2 which is: Are female students more or less likely than males to believe that they are very well-informed about what goes on in the school?

In order to answer this question, we have to organize the responses to the two questionnaire items in terms of the categories in Table 7 on the next page.

Table 7: Judgments of Female and Male Students (On a 1-5 Scale) of How Well-Informed They Are About What Goes on in the School

Responses	Percent Responding	
	Female	Male
1. Very well-informed	A. 25.0% (N40)	F. 14.3% (N20)
2.	B. 31.2% (N50)	G. 17.8% (N25)
3.	C. 28.1% (N45)	H. 32.1% (N45)
4.	D. 9.4% (N15)	I. 21.4% (N30)
5. Not well-informed	E. 6.2% (N10)	J. 14.3% (N20)
TOTAL	99.9% (N160)	99.9% (N140)

The precentages in Table 7 were figured by dividing the number in each box by the total number at the bottom of each column of boxes and then multiplying by 100. For example, to obtain the percentage in Box A (25%), you divide 40 by 160 and multiply by 100. Here is how you obtain the other percentages for females in the table.

Box B: $\frac{50}{160} \times 100 = 31.2\%$

Box C: $\frac{45}{160} \times 100 = 28.1\%$

Box D: $\frac{15}{160} \times 100 = 9.4\%$

Box E: $\frac{10}{160} \times 100 = 6.2\%$

Here is how the percentages for the males (in Boxes F, G, H, I, and J) were figured.

Box F: $\frac{20}{140} \times 100 = 14.3$

Box G: $\frac{25}{140} \times 100 = 17.8$

Box H: $\frac{45}{140} \times 100 = 32.1$

Box I: $\frac{30}{140} \times 100 = 21.4$

Box J: $\frac{20}{140} \times 100 = 14.3$

Table 7 shows that females are more likely than males to believe that they are "very well-informed." For example, as shown in Box A in Table 7, 25% of the females say they are "very well-informed." In contrast, only 14.3% of the males say that they are "very well-informed." (See Box F.)

Now look at Boxes E and J. Box E shows that only 6.2% of the females said that they are "not well-informed." In contrast, 14.3% of the males reported that they are "not well-informed."

The survey study about which you have read concerns one kind of political resource -- information. Suppose that another survey was done about the distribution of political skills in Westside High School. A representative sample of 300 students was asked to respond to these two questionnaire items:

(1) In every school, some people have special skills. They know how to organize groups, how to speak persuasively, how to bargain with others, how to make good decisions, etc. Do you think you have these skills? (Circle the number in the scale below which indicates your judgment about the extent to which you have these skills.)

I have most of these skills — I have few or none of these skills

1 2 3 4 5

(2) What is your grade in school?

_____ grade 9
_____ grade 10
_____ grade 11
_____ grade 12

The objective of this survey study was to gather evidence with the questionnaire items to answer these two inquiry questions: (1) What proportion of the students in our school believe that they have most important political skills? (2) Are twelfth graders more or less likely than ninth graders to believe that they have most important political skills?

Following are Tables 8 and 9, which present findings of this study.

Table 8: Students' Judgments (On a 1-5 Scale) of the Extent to Which They Have Important Political Skills)

Responses	Percent Responding
1. Have most skills	15% (N45)
2.	20% (N60)
3.	25% (N75)
4.	30% (N90)
5. Have few or no skills	10% (N30)
TOTAL	100% (N300)

Table 9: 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Graders in This Study

Grade	Percent Responding
9th	30% (N90)
10th	25% (N75)
11th	25% (N75)
12th	20% (N60)
TOTAL	100% (N300)

Table 10: Judgments of 9th and 12th Graders (On a 1-5 Scale) Of The Extent To Which They Have Important Political Skills

Responses	Percentage Responding	
	9th Graders	12th Graders
1. Have Most Skills	A. ___% (N10)	F. ___% (N15)
2.	B. ___% (N12)	G. ___% (N12)
3.	C. ___% (N15)	H. ___% (N__)
4.	D. ___% (N35)	I. ___% (N10)
5. Have few or no skills	E. ___% (N)	J. ___% (N11)
TOTAL	___% (N__)	___% (N__)

Use the findings reported in Tables 8 and 9 to complete correctly Table 10. For example, fill-in the correct numbers in the blank spaces in the boxes in the table.

Use the evidence in the three completed tables to determine which of these three statements about political skills in Westside High School are correct or incorrect.

(1) A majority of the students in the school believe that they have many political skills (rankings of 1 or 2 in the scale).

_____ Correct
_____ Incorrect
_____ From the evidence in the Tables it is not possible to determine whether the statement is correct or incorrect.

(2) Ninth graders ought to have more political skills than 12th graders.

_____ Correct
_____ Incorrect
_____ From the evidence in the Tables it is not possible to determine whether the statement is correct or incorrect.

(3) Twelfth graders are more likely than ninth graders to believe that they have important political skills.

_____ Correct
_____ Incorrect
_____ From the evidence in the Tables it is not possible to determine whether the statement is correct or incorrect.

Activity B-4: Selecting Populations and Samples to Survey

A basic part of doing a survey is selecting the specific individuals or groups about whom you want to gain knowledge. Populations and samples refer to those that you may select to survey. In this lesson, you have an opportunity to learn how to select correctly the populations and samples for your survey studies about politics in your school.

A POPULATION is all of something that you might want to describe or explain. It can refer to units of many different kinds and quantities:

all the teachers in your school;
all the students in your school;
all the adults in your state;
all the corn in a railroad car;
all the beer produced by a brewery during a single day;
all the cats owned by the people in your neighborhood;
all the women in the United States;
all the nations of Western Europe;
all the city councils in your state.

What you call a population depends upon the inquiry question you want to answer. If you want to find out whether a majority of Westside High students believe that they are very well-informed about what goes on in the school, then the student body of Westside High is your POPULATION.

A SAMPLE is part of a population that you might want to describe or explain. For example, in order to survey the political opinions of the large number of students at Westside High, it is convenient to select and survey a small sample of the students. If the sample is selected in such a way that it represents the population of Westside students, then accurate conclusions about the population can be made from a survey of the sample.

It is best to do a SAMPLE SURVEY whenever the population you want to study is very large or very spread out. For example, in a school with a

population of several hundred students it would be more convenient to do a sample survey of political opinions rather than a population survey of the student body. Or, if you want to do an interview study of the opinions of Student Council members of the high schools of your state, you might find it difficult to travel to every high school. Instead, you might select a sample of all the high schools in the state and do an opinion study of the Student Council members of the high schools in your sample, rather than of all the high schools.

It is best to do a POPULATION SURVEY (rather than a sample survey) whenever the population is small enough and easily within reach. For example, suppose you want to do a comparative study of the knowledge of school political issues of the officers and the active members of student clubs in your school. It is likely that the number of both student club officers and active club members is sufficiently small and easy to contact so that it would be possible to do population surveys of both groups.

A population survey, when it can be easily managed, gives you more confidence in the reliability and validity of your study, than a sample survey does. This is because every member of the population which you want to study is included in your survey. In contrast, a sample survey includes only a part, although hopefully a representative part, of the population whom you want to study.

The RANDOM SAMPLE is one type of systematically selected sample which you can use in order to do a reliable and valid sample survey study in your school or elsewhere. A RANDOM SAMPLE is selected when every member of the population, which the sample is supposed to represent, has the same chance of being selected to the sample. Before a RANDOM SAMPLE is selected, no

one is likely to predict exactly which members of the population will be selected to the sample, because every individual in the population has an equal chance to become part of the sample.

Following is an example of a randomly selected sample.

The population is the 500 white, upper-middle class students of the senior class of Captain American High School. There are 250 males and 250 females. The name of each student is written on a 3" x 5" note card and deposited in a large wooden box. The cards are mixed thoroughly. Then 175 cards are taken from the box as the randomly selected sample of the population of 500 students.

Following is a plan for selecting a sample. What is your critical appraisal of this plan?

The objective in this case is to compare opinions about the effectiveness of the Student Council of students at Southside and Northside High Schools. The student body of each high school is about 4,000. The sampling plan is to select the first 400 students to enter the front door of each high school on a Monday morning. These students are to be asked about their opinions of the Student Council's effectiveness.

The samples described in the preceding example about Northside and Southside High Schools are not random, and they are <u>not</u> likely to be reliable or valid. The samples are not likely to represent accurately the population from which they were selected since <u>every member of the population did not have the same chance of being included in the sample</u>. For example, those arriving at school earliest may consist mostly of student club members arriving for meetings.

<u>A random sample is very likely to be RELIABLE and VALID</u>. That is, you can have a great deal of confidence that a randomly selected sample is

representative of the population you want to describe and explain. A sample is representative when it reflects the characteristics of the population. For example, if 55% of all students at Westside High are females, then approximately 55% of a representative sample of these students should be females.

Sometimes it is not possible or desirable to select some kind of random sample to survey. You decide whether or not it is desirable, or even possible, to select a random sample according to your knowledge problem. What you want to know guides both your selection of both questionnaire items and sample. For example, look at the following three cases and try to decide whether or not a random sampling procedure fits the knowledge problem in each case.

Case 1: You want to compare opinions about political influence of students at Westside High who belong to clubs with highly involved members and who belong to clubs with little involvement in club activities by most members. There are seventeen student clubs at Westside and you have learned that there is much involvement of club members in seven of these clubs and little involvement by the members of ten of these clubs. You don't have time to survey all the members of each club. Should you use a random sampling procedure to select respondents for your survey study? _____ Why?

Case 2: You want to compare opinions about school issues of those who have won and those who have lost in elections to the Student Council at Westside. Should you use a random sampling procedure to select respondents for your survey? _____ Why?

Case 3: There is one club at Westside High where decisions can only be made unanimously by all club members. There is another where the club President has the right to veto any decision of the members. There is no way to override the veto. You want to compare particular political opinions of the members of these two clubs. Should you use a random sampling procedure for your study? _____ Why?

In Case 1, you could use a modified random sampling procedure. That is, you could select randomly two clubs with much membership involvement and two clubs with little membership involvement. Then you might interview each member of your four-club sample.

In Case 2, you WOULD NOT want to use a random sampling procedure. In this case, individuals should be selected to survey according to whether or not they have run for a student council office. Those who have won would be assigned to one group. The individuals are selected to survey on the basis of whether or not they have had a particular experience, running for a student council office, not according to a random selection from the entire student body.

In Case 3, random sampling WOULD NOT be relevant to your knowledge problem. As in Case 2, you are selecting individuals to survey according to some experience that they have had. In this case, the particular experience is whether or not an individual belongs to the student club which makes unanimous decisions or to the student club where the president can veto any decision.

Random sampling procedures have been emphasized in this lesson, because this approach to selecting units to survey is often the key, along with proper selection of questionnaire items, to doing a reliable and valid survey. However, the preceding cases of non-random selection of individuals

to survey should alert you to the possibility that random sampling procedures may not always fit your knowledge problem, or the particular circumstances for trying to solve your knowledge problem.

However, whenever you use non-random procedures for selecting individuals to survey, you must be as systematic as possible in order to do a reliable and valid study. This means that you must have some clearly stated rules to guide you in deciding who is, and who is not, to be selected to survey.

In Case 2 above, the guiding rule is whether or not an individual had run for a student council office. Only individuals who had run for office would be selected to be part of this survey.

In Case 3 above, the guiding rule is whether or not an individual belongs to a club which makes decisions unanimously or to a club where the president can veto any decision. Only individuals who belong to one of these two types of clubs could be selected to be part of this survey.

Following are three descriptions of <u>populations</u>, <u>samples</u>, and <u>surveys</u>. Below each description are two statements. Indicate on the blank next to each statement whether you think the statement is <u>true</u> or <u>false</u>. In the space provided below each statement, rewrite each statement that you think is false in order to make the statement true.

1. Pretend that you want to make a judgment about a barrel of retsina wine that was made in 1970. You taste one cup of the wine and decide that the barrel of wine is sour.

   _____ a. The barrel of wine can be thought of as a population.

   _____

   _____

_____ b. The cup of wine can be viewed as a sample of this barrel of retsina wine made in 1970.

_____

_____

2. Suppose that you want to describe the opinions of all the students in your school about the government of your community. You prepare a public opinion questionnaire and ask fifty students in your school to respond to the questions.

_____ a. The population in this study is all high school students.

_____

_____

_____ b. The sample in this study is the group of fifty students who are asked to answer the questions.

_____

_____

3. Suppose that you want to do a political opinion survey of all high school students in Gary, Indiana.

_____ a. You should do a sample survey rather than a population survey.

_____

_____

_____ b. The population of this study is all high school students in the state of Indiana.

_____

_____

4. Examine the three different ways of selecting a sample described in the following example. Then answer the questions that appear below the example.

You are a reporter for the high school newspaper. You have been assigned the task of finding out the opinions of students in the school about the new lunch period regulations. There are 2,000 students in your school and you do not have the time to obtain the opinion of every student. Thus, you consider three different ways of selecting a sample of the students so that you can describe the opinions of all the students on the basis of the opinions of the students in your sample.

First, you consider walking around the cafeteria during your lunch break and asking three people from each table. In this manner, you might talk to about 300 students.

Second, you consider asking each of the 50 members of the Student Council to tell their opinions of the lunch period rules. After all, you reason, these people were elected by the students to represent them in the Student Council. Thus, their opinions ought to be representative of the opinions of all the students.

Third, you might obtain a list of names of every student in the school from the principal's office. After placing each name on cards of equal size, you could place the cards in a container and mix the cards thoroughly. Then you might select the names of 250 students and ask them their opinions about the new lunch period regulations.

(a) Which of the samples is selected randomly? Explain.

(b) Which of the samples is most likely to be valid? Why?

Activity B-5: Doing A Survey About Political Resources

Now that you have completed lessons about how to do surveys, you should be ready to conduct a survey study in your school.

We want you to try to answer these inquiry questions?

(1) To what extent do students, teachers, and administrators in your school believe that they rank higher or lower in their possession of these political resources:

(a) information

(b) skills

(c) status (holding positions of influence)

(2) To what extent do students, teachers and administrators in your school believe that they can influence important decisions in the school?

Following is a copy of a survey questionnaire which you can use to gather data to answer the preceding two inquiry questions.

School Political Resources Questionnaire

This questionnaire is about politics in your school. It will help us to find out what kinds of political influence, information, skills people have in our school. Knowing more about the questions below should help us to have information about our school and to make better use of the resources that are available to us.

The questionnaire will be taken by students, teachers and administrators. It is important to answer all the questions so that we can have complete information. It will not take long to fill out, for it is only ten questions long.

Please respond to the questions as indicated by the directions for each separate item.

1. As you think about politics in your school, does it seem that you have a lot, some or only a few political resources (i.e. high status, information, skills, ideas) which can help you to solve everyday problems?

   _____ a. It seems we have most of the resources we need.

   _____ b. We have some resources, but we have need for other resources which we do not have.

   _____ c. We do not have many resources.

2. Which best describes how influence is used in your school? (Check the one statement that is best.)

   _____a. Students and teachers do what administrators have decided they shall do and there is little opportunity to change the administrators' minds.

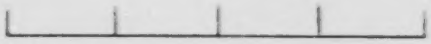
   _____b. Students and teachers can talk to administrators and maybe change their minds on some things, but administrators still have control over what gets done.

   _____c. Students and teachers can get the administrators to go along with what they want quite often.

   _____d. On different issues, students, administrators, and teachers have roughly equal opportunity to get their way.

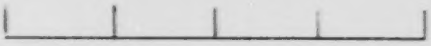
3. Consider how much you now know about what goes on in the school. Do you think you are well-informed? (Circle the number in the scale below which indicates your judgment about how well-informed you are.)

Very Well-Informed 1 2 3 4 5 Not Well-Informed



4. In every school some people have special skills. They know how to organize groups, how to speak persuasively, how to bargain with others, how to make good decisions, etc. Do you think you have these skills? (Circle the number in the scale below which indicates your judgment about the extent to which you have these skills.)

I have most of these skills 1 2 3 4 5 I have few or none of these skills



5. Put an X by the answer that describes how decisions are made in groups in your high school.

_____ a. One person or a small group decides. Everyone else follows along.

_____ b. A few groups or small number of people agree. Everyone else follows along.

_____ c. A majority of the people interested in the decision must agree on the decision before it can be made.

_____ d. Almost everyone interested in the decision must agree on the decision before it can be made.

6. How much say do you feel you have in important school decisions that affect you?

_____ a. very much

_____ b. much

_____ c. a little

_____ d. none

_____ e. uncertain

7. Which of the following are you?

_____ a. Black, Afro-American

_____ b. White, Caucasian

_____ c. American Indian, native American

_____ d. Spanish Surname, Chicano(a), Latino(a)

_____ e. Other than above

8. Are you a female or a male?

_____ a. Female

_____ b. Male

9. What is your grade in school?

_____ a. Student in grade 10

_____ b. Student in grade 11

_____ c. Student in grade 12

_____ d. Teacher

_____ e. Administrator

10. What is your name or identification number? _____

Thank you very much for completing the questionnaire. It will help us in our class work.

Your next move in doing this survey is to decide to whom to administer the survey. As you have learned, you cannot just walk out of your classroom and give it to five friends. You need to make careful choices about your subjects or your evidence will be faulty and it will produce misleading answers to your questions. As indicated by the two inquiry questions on page 87, you need to include administrators, teachers, and students in your survey. How should you select the individuals whom you will survey?

In this unit, you learned about populations and samples. A random sample is selected when every member of a population which the sample is supposed to represent has the same chance of being selected into the sample.

You will use both population surveys and sample surveys of political resources. Since you want to know what resources administrators in your school have, you will need to survey the principal, vice-principals and other administrators in your school. Since there are probably no more than a dozen administrators (even if you count the school superintendent and board), you can easily do a population survey. You can include <u>everyone</u> who makes policy decisions in your school who is not a teacher or student.

List the administrators you think should be included in a population survey of school administrators in your school:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____.

8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

11. _____

12. _____

You need to survey teachers to complete your study. There are no doubt many more than a dozen teachers in your school. In some large schools, there may be hundreds of teachers. If you have more than 30 teachers, you can select a random sample. In this way, you will be able to gather representative evidence from a small number of people.

Technically, the sample sizes appropriate for a random sample can be judged by using the following table:

Table 11: Guidelines to Sample Size

Population Size	Sample Size
10,000	370
5,000	357
3,000	341
2,000	322
1,000	278
800	240
600	200
500	175
400	150

According to the table, you should use about 150 subjects for a 400-person population, 322 subjects for a 2,000 person population, and so on. We will

use a smaller number here to save you time and still have a large enough sample for you to have sound data. Thirty subjects is a significant number for most common analyses you will want to do in this unit.

In order to do a random sample of 30 teachers in your school, you will need to make a list of all teachers and number each name on the list. Your teacher will provide you with a list as you read this part of the Unit.

Once you have a list, you will then need to use a table of random numbers. The following table consists of 1,000 random numbers. These 1,000 numbers are considered to be random because they have been

TABLE 12: TABLE OF RANDOM NUMBERS

1	1-4	5-8	9-12	13-16	17-20	21-24	25-28	29-32	33-36	37-40
1	23 15	75 48	59 01	83 72	59 93	76 24	97 08	86 95	23 03	67 44
2	05 54	55 50	43 10	53 74	35 08	90 61	18 37	44 10	96 22	13 43
3	14 87	16 03	50 32	40 43	62 23	50 05	10 03	22 11	54 38	08 34
4	38 97	67 49	51 94	05 17	58 53	78 80	49 01	94 32	42 87	16 95
5	97 31	26 17	18 99	75 53	08 70	94 25	12 58	41 54	88 21	05 13
6	11 74	26 93	81 44	33 93	08 72	32 79	73 31	18 22	64 70	68 50
7	43 36	12 88	59 11	01 64	36 23	93 00	90 04	99 43	64 07	40 36
8	93 80	62 04	78 38	26 30	44 9o	55 75	11 89	32 58	47 55	25 71
9	49 54	01 31	81 08	42 98	41 87	69 53	82 96	61 77	73 80	95 27
10	36 76	87 26	33 37	94 82	15 69	41 95	96 86	70 45	27 48	38 80
11	07 09	25 23	92 24	72 71	26 07	06 55	84 53	44 67	33 84	53 20
12	43 31	00 10	81 44	86 38	03 07	52 55	51 61	48 89	74 29	46 47
13	61 57	00 63	60 06	17 36	37 75	63 14	89 51	23 35	01 74	69 93
14	31 35	28 37	99 10	77 91	89 41	31 57	97 64	48 72	58 48	69 19
15	57 04	88 65	26 27	79 59	36 82	90 52	95 65	46 35	06 53	22 54
16	09 24	34 42	00 68	72 10	71 37	30 72	97 57	56 09	29 82	76 50
17	97 95	53 50	18 40	89 48	83 29	52 23	08 25	21 22	53 26	15 87
18	93 73	25 95	70 43	78 19	88 85	56 67	16 68	26 95	99 64	45 69
19	72 62	11 12	25 00	92 26	82 64	35 66	65 94	34 71	68 75	18 67
20	61 02	07 44	18 45	37 12	07 94	95 91	73 78	66 99	53 61	93 78
21	97 83	98 54	74 33	05 59	17 18	45 47	35 41	44 22	03 42	30 00
22	89 16	09 71	92 22	23 29	06 37	35 95	54 54	89 88	43 81	63 61
23	25 96	68 82	20 62	87 17	92 65	02 82	35 28	62 84	91 95	48 83
24	81 44	33 17	19 05	04 95	48 06	74 69	00 75	67 65	01 71	65 45
25	11 32	25 49	31 42	36 23	43 86	08 62	49 76	67 42	24 52	32 45

selected and arranged in the table in such a way that there is no pattern to the arrangement of the numbers. Thus, those who want to select a random sample precisely can use the numbers in Table 12 to help them.

In order to select a random sample of 30 teachers, you need to make a list with 30 blanks like the one found on the following page. Then you need to select 30 numbers from the random numbers table. You can do this by moving down the columns and choosing 23, 05, 14, 38, etc. You can also move across the rows selecting 23, 15, 75, 48, etc. Finally you can choose numbers at any interval, such as 2. Then you would move down a column and choose 23, 14, 97, 43, etc. or across a row and choose 23, 75, 59, 83, etc. The easiest method is probably to move down the first column and then continue down the second.

Choose one of the methods above to select your random sample. Then, write appropriate numbers in each of the blanks on the following page. You should not use the same number more than once. For example, the number "93" is repeated in the first column, in rows 8 and 18. Skip over row 18 and go to the next number, "72" which has not been used.

Finally, you need to look at the table of names your teacher has provided and write the names of the teachers next to the numbers that match on each list. Your first name on your random sample list will be the teacher who has the number "23" next to his or her name in your original list. If you are moving down columns in the table, your second name on your random sample list will be the teacher who has number "05" next to his or her name in your original list. You should complete this list by matching names and numbers until you have 30 teachers for your sample.

RANDOM SAMPLE LIST OF TEACHERS TO SURVEY

1.	_____	16.	_____
2.	_____	17.	_____
3.	_____	18.	_____
4.	_____	19.	_____
5.	_____	20.	_____
6.	_____	21.	_____
7.	_____	22.	_____
8.	_____	23.	_____
9.	_____	24.	_____
10.	_____	25.	_____
11.	_____	26.	_____
12.	_____	27.	_____
13.	_____	28.	_____
14.	_____	29.	_____
15.	_____	30.	_____

There is one trick here. If you have more than 30 teachers in your school, but less than 99, you may choose a number from the random numbers table which does not correspond to <u>any</u> number on your original list. The number "97" in the first column and the fifth row is a good example. If there are only 66 teachers in your school, you will <u>not</u> find a number "97." Just move on down the list and select a number which does correspond to one on your original list. This will make your sample less random, but it will still give you a good base for selecting teachers.

You now have a population of administrators and a random sample of teachers who will provide evidence for your questions about political resources. Your sample of students could also be random, but since it would be very difficult to administer and analyze so many questionnaires, we've decided to take a short cut and select students from one or two homerooms at each of three grade levels -- 10th, 11th, and 12th. It seems important to stratify, or divide, the sample by grades so that we can see if students in different classes have different resources. It also seems important to find an efficient way to get responses to the questionnaire. So, you should select at random one or two homerooms from each grade level (above the 9th) to conduct your survey. If selected randomly from the population (or total number of homerooms at each grade level) this sample should be adequate. You should administer your questionnaire to each student in the homerooms selected to your sample.

Make a list of the homerooms which you selected to conduct your student survey:

Sophomores _____

_____

Juniors _____

_____

Seniors _____

_____

Bring your list into the discussion you will have about which groups you will use to conduct your survey. Your teacher will help the class in organizing the survey and conducting it in your school.

Activity B-6: Playing a Supporter Role

An important role in any group is that of a supporter. Supporters are needed in any group to do the day-to-day work of the group. When a group is trying to make a decision, supporters lend backing to particular organizers and advocates in the group. After the group makes a decision, supporters are available to do what is needed to carry out the decision.

Read the following case and determine who is playing a supporter role and what these people are doing. Do you think they are playing the supporter role effectively?

The I.D. Issue

The scene is a large city high school. Students are passing through the hallways between classes. Mr. Haley, the hallway supervisor for this period is clearing students out of the hallway.

Alice: Hi, Mr. Haley. How are you today?

Mr. Haley: I want to see your identification card.

Alice: I'm sure I put it in my purse this morning. Oh darn it! I can't find it. I must have left it on my dresser at home.

Mr. Haley: Well, Alice, that'll be two hours of detention. Report to the detention room today and tomorrow after school.

Alice: But, Mr. Haley, I work after school. I can't afford to go to detention.

Mr. Haley: Then remember to bring your I.D. card to school and you won't have any problem.

Alice: This I.D. rule is unfair, Mr. Haley. I'm going to do something about it.

Jerry Mitchell is another angry student. Listen to his conversation with Mrs. Sanders, the school librarian.

Jerry: Hello, Mrs. Sanders. I want to check out these two history books.

Mrs. Sanders: Let me see your identification card.

Jerry: It's right here in my wallet. At least I thought it was in my wallet. I guess I forgot to bring it to school today, Mrs. Sanders.

Mrs. Sanders: Well, I'm sorry, Jerry, but I can't let you check out the books unless you show your I.D. card.

Jerry: But I need to use these books at home tonight. If I don't have them I can't finish an assignment that's due in my history class. Mr. Barnes will be plenty mad, and I'll probably lose my chance to get an "A".

Mrs. Sanders: I'm only following the rules, Jerry. Anyway, you're lucky that no one has sent you to detention for coming to school without your card.

Jerry: I think the I.D. rule is stupid. I'm going to organize some kids in this school and get this dumb rule changed.

Unlike Alice and Jerry, Al Buckovich has no complaints about the new school rule. Al is captain of the basketball team and President of the Student Council. He runs into Mr. Haley on his way to basketball practice.

Mr. Haley: Hey Al. Stop running in the hall.

Al: I'm sorry, Mr. Haley, but I'm late to practice. Coach'll really be mad unless I get there right away.

Mr. Haley: Well, don't run in the hall, Al. It's against the rules. By the way, are you carrying your identification card?

Al: Well, Ah, no.

Mr. Haley: Tough luck, Al. I'll have to send you to detention.

Al: Aw, Mr. Haley. You wouldn't make me go to detention, would you? We're getting ready for the big game this weekend. Coach would kill me.

Mr. Haley: Well, okay, Al. But get that lost I.D. card replaced as soon as possible. I wouldn't want someone else to throw you into detention.

Al: Gee, thanks, Mr. Haley.

A new rule has been made at this high school. Students are required to carry numbered identification cards. The students must show their I.D. cards to board a school bus, to get lunch at the cafeteria, to check out library books, and to gain admission to various school events. Teachers may ask to see the I.D. cards of students who are walking through the school. Those who are not carrying a card are not able to do various things in the school. They can be punished through assignment to the detention room, or they can be sent home from school. Those who break the I.D. rule repeatedly may be suspended from school. Some students are pleased with the new rule. But many are against it. Let's listen to a group of Student Council representatives discuss the new I.D. rule.

Al: I know that a lot of you kids don't like the new I.D. rule. But I think it's okay. What's the matter anyway?

Alice: Well, as I see it, we have two kinds of gripes. Some want to dump the rule. Others accept it, but they want to change the way it's enforced. Haley really got on me the other day 'cause I didn't have my card.

Marcia: Hey Alice, do you realize that some kids think the rule is okay as is.

Jerry: I guess there are stools of the principal and the teachers all over this school. Whatever they want you'll do, no matter what. Isn't that right, Marcia? How about it, Al? I think the I.D. rule makes this school more like a concentration camp than ever.

Harvey: I'm with you, Jerry. And so are a lot of other kids.

Al: Hold on Harvey. And watch your mouth, Jerry. I think we need I.D. cards. This school is big. Teachers need the cards to keep track of people and to keep things in order around here. What we need in this place is more law and order.

Marcia: That's right, Al. I.D. cards keep out kids who don't belong. Remember how much trouble there was last year with them kids who don't go to school here. They took stuff from the lockers, they started fights in the halls, and lots of other stuff. The I.D. rule helps keep these jerks out of our school.

George: You're right, Marcia. But you have to admit that the rule's unfair as it stands now. If you're a "big jock" like Al, or if your old man's a "big shot"in town, or if you're a teacher's pet, they'll bend the rule for you. But if you're nobody, or if the teachers don't like you for some crazy reason, then look out. They'll use the rule to "zap" you if they can.

Alice: Maybe we do need the I.D. rule, but not the way it is now. You can just be peacefully walking down the hall and any teacher can stop you and make you show your card. And you have to show it on the spot or risk going to detention. How would the teachers like it if some "honcho" made them show a card whenever he felt like it?

Harvey: The thing I hate most is that some kids can get away without I.D.'s. But if you're a discipline problem, or you dress funny, or you're different in some way, they won't let you.

Jerry: Most kids in this school are against the way the rule is now. So let's do something about it.

George: I don't think we know exactly how many kids are for or against the new rule.

Al: I agree, George. I'm for the I.D. rule, but I'm not sure how many kids in this school are for it or against it. I know the principal wants the rule, but I'm not certain how many teachers and administrators agree with her. I think we need to know some facts about who is for and against the rule before we try to do something about it.

George: We ought to do a random sample survey of teachers and students and a population survey of administrators. Then we'd have the information we need to help us decide how to move on this.

Alice: I guess we could do a survey. We've learned how in our social studies classes.

Al: I'm all for it. Who's with me?

Marcia: I'm behind you Al.

George: So am I.

Al: Okay, George, you and Marcia plan and conduct a survey study about this and report the results to us as soon as possible.

One week later, Marcia and George reported the results of their survey to the Student Council. They found that 85% of the students wanted to abolish the rule, that 70% of the teachers were against it, and that all of the six administrators were for it. As a result of this survey, the Council decided to advocate either changing the rule basically or doing away with it. They believed that the there was sufficient student and faculty support for a change in the rule so that it might be practical to try and influence the administrators to change the I.D. policy.

Marcia had been strongly in favor of the rule. However, after the Council decided by majority vote to oppose it, she supported the decision. She and Goerge both began to try to influence the principal to change the I.D. rule.

Following are the main characteristics associated with successful performance of a supporter role.

SUPPORTER ROLE

1. A successful supporter is reliable.
2. A successful supporter takes directions.
3. A successful supporter works hard.
4. A successful supporter works well with others.
5. A successful supporter is thorough and careful in his/her work.

1. Who played the supporter role in the preceding case?
2. What actions did the supporter(s) take?
3. Did the supporter(s) perform the role successfully? Why?
4. When and how have you played the supporter role recently in a school or community group?

As you participate in the conduct of your class' survey study of political resources, you may be required to play a supporter role in your group. If so, try to play this role in terms of the characteristics for successful role performance described above.

PART C: POLITICAL RESOURCES IN ELITE SYSTEMS

Political systems can have very different kinds and amounts of political resources. The distribution of political resources and activities tend to go together. For example, when many people have some share of the political resources in a system, then more people tend to participate actively in politics. Likewise in political systems in which a few people would have all the resources, most people are not very involved in political activity. The purpose of this lesson is to show some typical ways that patterns of political resources and activities can fit together in an elite political system model.

Activity C-1: The Elite Political System Model

Patterns of political life are common ways that resources are distributed and activities are carried out in a political system. They reflect general characteristics of a system as a whole. For example, the general way that political decisions are made in the United States is by majority rule voting. Yet, each of you can probably think of a political group which does not operate by majority rule. A general resource distribution can be called a pattern.

The following charts are another way to show the different patterns of political resources in two different types of systems -- the elite political system model and the coalitional model.*

Look at Chart I. Notice that Group "A" is high in (or has much of) five kinds of political resources: money, education, speaking skills, organizing skills, and information. In contrast, Groups C, D, E, and F are low in (or have little of) these kinds of political resources.

*See pages 79 to 87 of Unit One of Political Systems for discussion of the coalitional political system model

Chart I

Types of Political Resources	Group*					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Money	H	M	L	L	L	L
Education	H	M	L	L	L	L
Speaking Skills	H	M	L	L	L	L
Organizing Skills	H	M	L	L	L	L
Information	H	M	L	L	L	L

H=high M=medium L=low

*Each group includes the same number of people.

Chart 1 shows an ELITE pattern of political resources. A few people (Group A) have most of the resources. In contrast, most of the people (Groups B, C, D, E, F) have very few resources. The few leaders have most of the money, information, and skills in the system. This very unequal distribution of political resources helps the few at the top to dominate the masses of people.

Look at Chart II below. How does the pattern of political resources in this system differ from the pattern in Chart I?

Chart II

Types of Political Resources	Group*					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Money	H	M	L	M	H	M
Education	M	H	M	L	H	H
Speaking Skills	H	M	H	H	L	H
Organizing Skills	M	L	M	H	M	L
Information	L	H	H	M	M	M

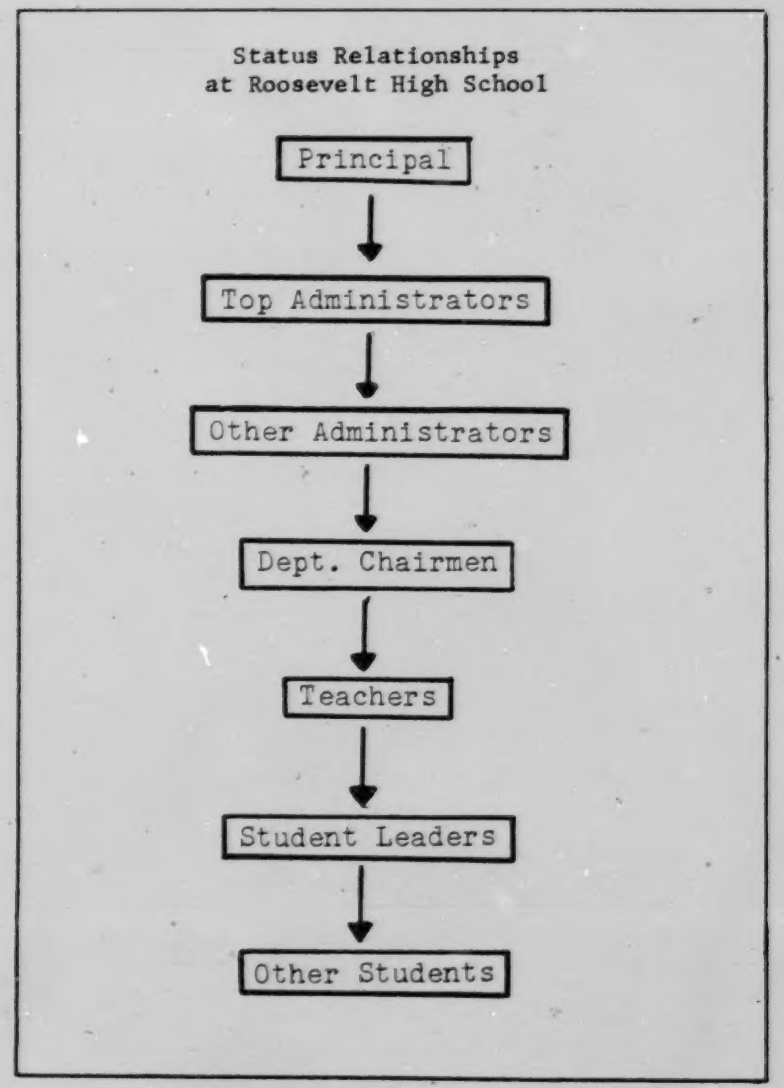
H=high M=medium L=low

*Each group includes the same number of people.

Chart II shows a COALITIONAL pattern of political resources. Notice the uneven distribution of political resources. No one group is high in every kind of resource, but each group is high in some type of political resource. For example, Group A is high in money and speaking skills; Group B is high in education and information; Group D is high in speaking skills and organizing skills and so forth. Every group in the system has a significant share of some important kind of political resource. This sets up the need for groups to bargain, compromise, and form alliances in order to get things done.

An ELITE political resource pattern flows from the top to the bottom. Those at higher levels are in a position to dominate overwhelmingly those at lower levels.

In Roosevelt High School there is an elite political resource pattern. Notice that the influence relations are channeled down. The Principal and top administrators are in the dominant positions. The faculty dominates the students in terms of the authority of the Principal and the top administrators.



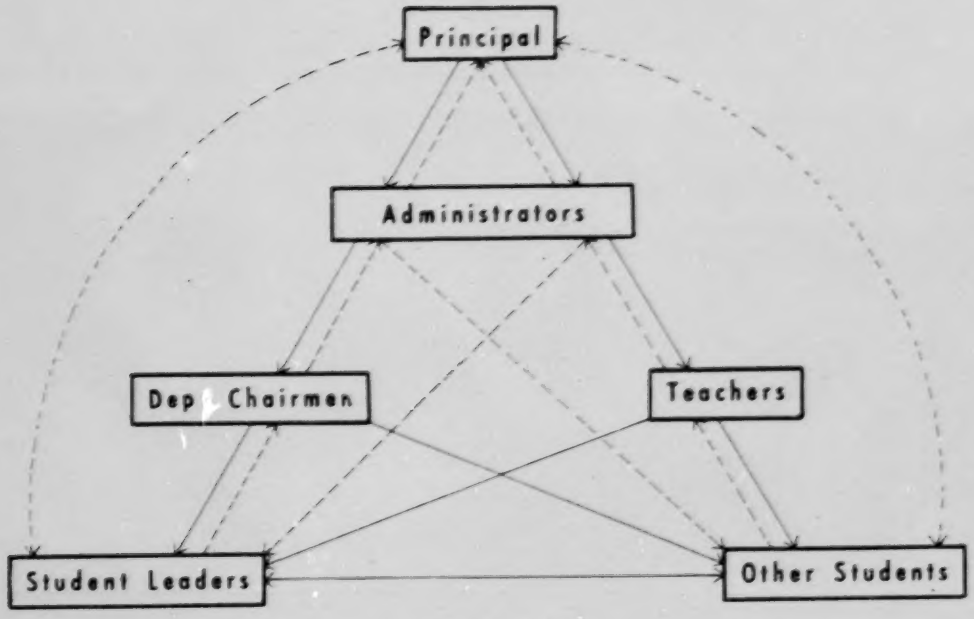
Influence in an elite system is based mainly on power and force. Those at the higher levels of the system are in a position to coerce those at lower levels, because they control most of the resources in the system.

For example, the principal of Roosevelt High School has the power to make and enforce all key decisions in the school. The principal's power is buttressed by the school rules, the right to hire and fire teachers and administrators, the right to make all work assignments without appeal, and the absence of organizations that might try to change the system. No group in the system has enough resources to challenge the power of the leaders.

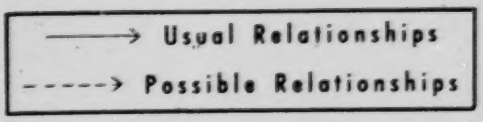
In a COALITIONAL system, influence may vary considerably from group to group and from situation to situation. (See the diagram on the following page.) The solid lines in the diagram indicate usual status relationships. The dotted lines indicate possible relationships.

No single group is in a position to dominate others all the time. Direct influence tends to flow downward, but the possibility exists for a variety of reciprocal influence relationships. The main feature of this system is the possibility for different alliances to form between different groups in response to a given situation.

In Tyler High School, there is a coalitional political system. Notice that the possibility for multiple direct status relationships, based on bargaining and compromise, is the distinctive feature of the COALITIONAL system.



Status Relationships at
Tyler High School



Influence in a coalitional system is based to a great extent on ability to bargain and compromise. In order to get things done, each group in the system must try to form alliances with other groups. Through these alliances, or coalitions, a combination of groups is able to pool its political resources in order to achieve mutual political objectives. Unlike the elite system, no one group is in a position to dominate others all the time. No one group has all the resources it needs to achieve objectives. This makes each group seek coalitions with other groups.

Examine the following evidence about political resources in Porter High School. Based on this evidence, speculate about whether the political resource pattern at Porter High School is more like that found in an elite or coalitional type political system.

Pieces of Evidence About
Porter High School

1. Following are responses of a representative sample of students to a questionnaire.

a. Question: Do you believe that most teachers and administrators in your school are interested in your ideas about how to run the school?

Responses	Percent Responding
Yes	12%
No	86%
Uncertain	2%
Total	100%

b. Question: How much say do you feel you have in the way things are done in student organizations in your school?

Responses	Percent Responding
Much	5%
Some	10%
None	84%
Uncertain	1%
Total	100%

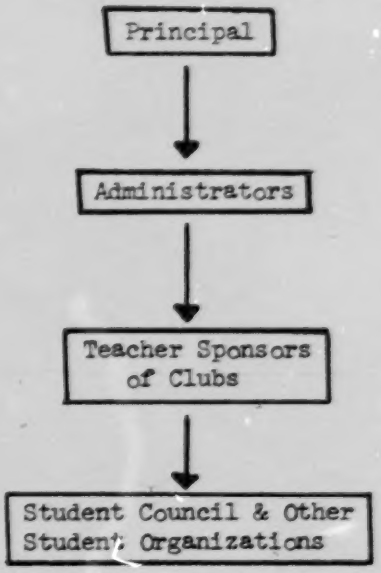
c. Question: How much say do you feel you have in important school decisions that affect you?

Responses	Percent Responding
Much	3%
Some	7%
None	85%
Uncertain	5%
Total	100%

2. Following is an excerpt from the Handbook of Regulations of Porter High School.

"The teacher sponsors of student organizations have the right to approve or disapprove of all decisions made by their respective student organizations. The assistant principal in charge of extra-curricular activities has the right to review all decisions made by any student organizations and approved by the teacher sponsors. The Assistant Principal has the power to veto any decisions that in his/her judgment are unwise. The Principal has the right to review the Assistant Principal's decisions and to ratify or veto them."

3. Organizational Chart
Showing Status Relationships Between Student, Teacher, and Administrative Groups in Porter High School



Answer these questions about elite and coalitional political system models?

1. In which type of system do the fewest people have the most political resources?

_____ elite _____ coalitional

2. In which type of system do the most people have the most political resources?

_____ elite _____ coalitional

3. In which type of system is political wealth distributed unevenly but widely across different people?

_____ elite _____ coalitional _____ neither

4. Which of the following is a correct statement about Chart I on page 105? (You may decide that there is one correct answer, more than one correct answer, or no correct answers.)

_____ Very few of the people have most of the political resources.

_____ Most of the people have little of the political resources.

_____ All of the people have an equal share of the political resources.

_____ The majority of the people have a majority of the political resources.

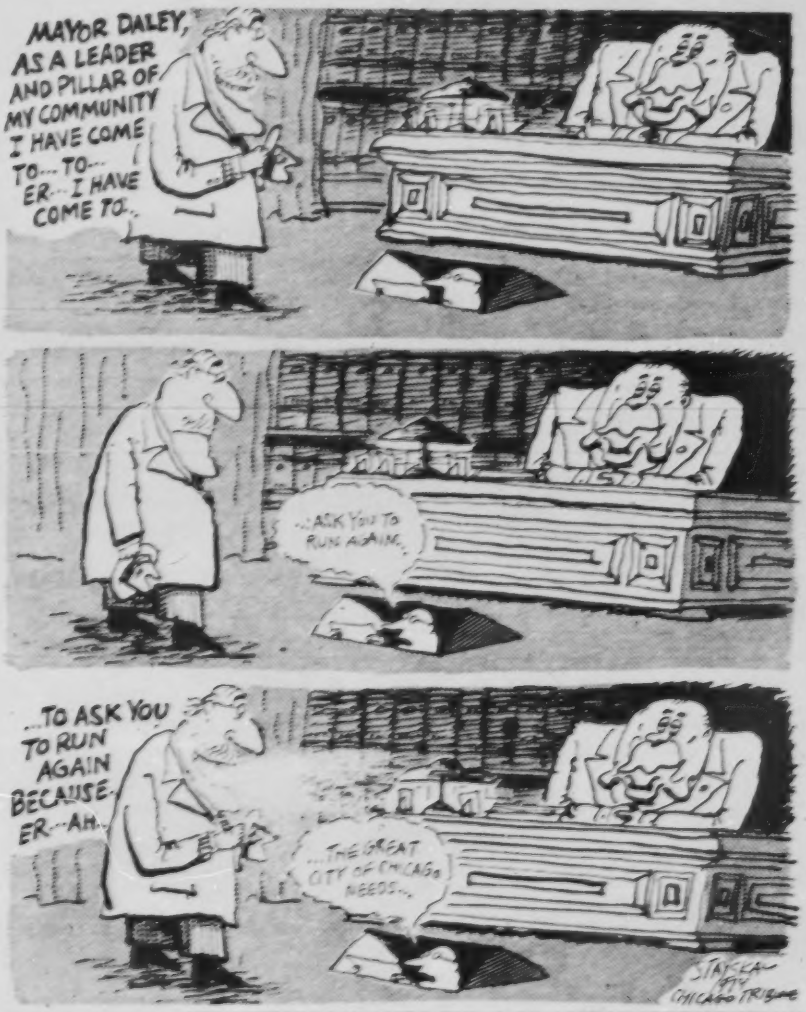
Activity C-2: Political Life in Chicago

In 1975, Richard J. Daley was elected to a sixth four year term as Mayor of Chicago. Thousands of Chicago voters in 1975 weren't even born when Daley started his first term in 1955.

During the past twenty years, Mayor Daley has dominated the Chicago political scene. He has wielded "clout" (Chicagoese for political influence) as no other big city Mayor in America.

Chicago Tribune Photo

Following are two case studies about Chicago politics. As you read the cases, think about these questions: (1) What are the bases of Mayor Daley's "clout?" (2) How has he managed to gain and maintain domination of Chicago politics? (3) Does Mayor Daley's Chicago seem to be more like the elite or coalitional political system model that you've studied?


MAYOR DALEY, AS A LEADER AND PILLAR OF MY COMMUNITY I HAVE COME TO... TO... ER... I HAVE COME TO..
...ASK YOU TO RUN AGAIN...
...TO ASK YOU TO RUN AGAIN BECAUSE ER... AH...
...THE GREAT CITY OF CHICAGO NEEDS...
STAHLER
CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Reprinted, Courtesy of the
Chicago Tribune

Daley Picks A Candidate

Supposedly, the ward bosses were meeting to select Democratic candidates for the coming election. According to popular belief, candidates are chosen by this committee. But even as they gathered in the conference room, the ward bosses knew the real decision would be made by Richard J. Daley. Daley, Chairman of the Cook County Democratic Party and Mayor of Chicago, was meeting in another room with a few party leaders.

While waiting for Daley, the bosses talked about their families, about mutual friends, and occasionally, about politics. Strong local candidates were especially important this year, the bosses thought, because the Republicans looked like national winners. Discussing the office of state's attorney, they agreed that it was a "must" win for the party. The state's attorney investigates and prosecutes state law violations. If a Republican should win, he might try to investigate City Hall.

Conversation ceased abruptly when Richard Daley entered the conference room. From a list he read the candidates which the party, including the ward bosses, would support. Coming to the state's attorney, he announced that Edward Hanrahan was the party's choice.

The ward bosses saw the reasons behind this selection. Although the present state's attorney, John Stamos, was a Democrat, he was a weaker candidate than Hanrahan. Hanrahan was Irish, while Stamos was Greek; and there were more Irish than Greek voters in Chicago. Hanrahan's party loyality was unquestioned, but many doubted Stamos' allegiance.

Someone asked, "What's going to happen to Stamos?" Daley replied that Stamos was slated for the Illinois attorney general's office. Those who knew Stamos realized the change would displease him. John Stamos liked being state's attorney, and the Illinois attorney general's job was less powerful than the position he now held.

But everyone expected him to accept Daley's decision. Democratic party support was necessary. With party backing, a politician had a bright career ahead because Democrats usually win Chicago elections. Running without party endorsement was difficult, and election nearly impossible.

Their decision made for them, the ward bosses filed out of the conference room to go downstairs, meet the reporters and announce the party's slate. In the hallway, one of the ward bosses saw John Stamos and said, "Congratulations, John, you're running for Illinois attorney general."

"No way!" Stamos yelled, adding, "I won't go for it." Daley approached him to tell Stamos the reasons for the decision and convince him to accept it. But Stamos refused Daley's explanation and angrily walked out of the hotel.

The bosses stood around looking confused. This situation presented an immediate problem. Now the party had no candidate for Illinois attorney general, and the news reporters were waiting.

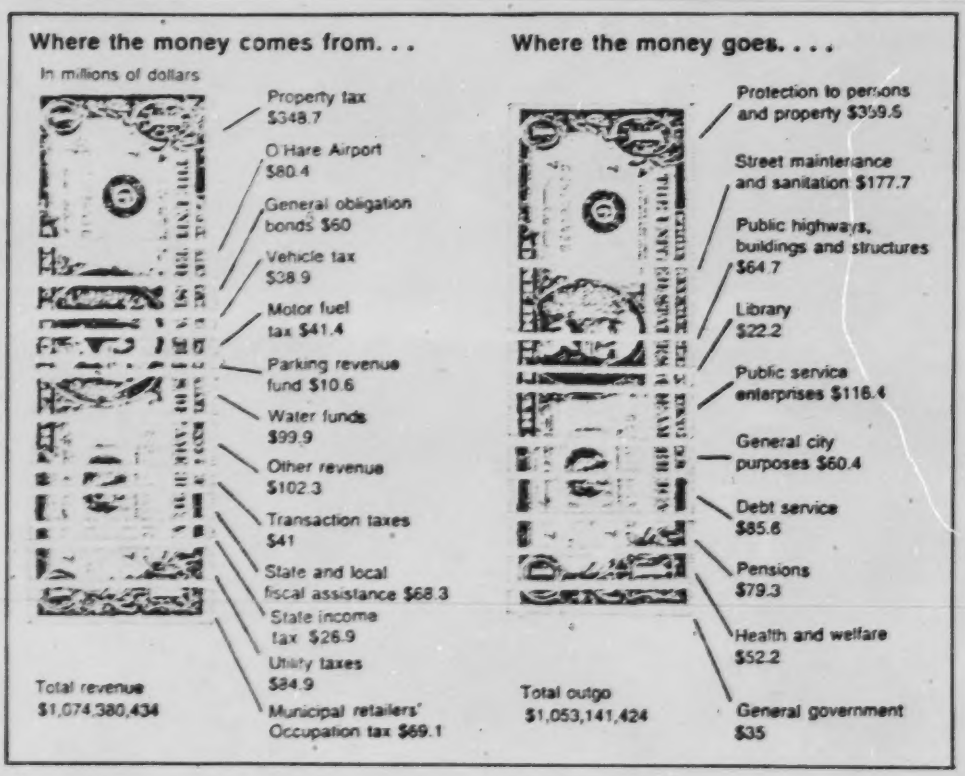
Daley told a secretary to call Frank Lorenz, a loyal party Democrat who currently held no elected office. When Lorenz answered, Daley took the phone and said, "Come on over, Frank, you're the candidate for attorney general." Lorenz quickly agreed. With that decision, the

party's slate for 1968 was complete.

Later, one of the ward bosses said, "If Lorenz had not been home, he would have missed out, and the next guy Daley thought of would have gotten the nomination -- if he answered his phone. That's the way things are run."

Daley Makes The Budget

Each year the city government of Chicago prepares a budget, which is a plan for using city government income to pay for the costs of government and the provision of public services. The budget indicates to whom the government will distribute money and/or goods and services money can buy. The amount of money involved in city budget planning is shown in the graph below. This graph also shows where the money came from and what the budget plan said it was to be used for in 1974.


Where the money comes from. . .
In millions of dollars
Property tax $348.7
O'Hare Airport $80.4
General obligation bonds $60
Vehicle tax $38.9
Motor fuel tax $41.4
Parking revenue fund $10.6
Water funds $99.9
Other revenue $102.3
Transaction taxes $41
State and local fiscal assistance $68.3
State income tax $26.9
Utility taxes $84.9
Municipal retailers' Occupation tax $69.1
Total revenue $1,074,380,434
Where the money goes. . . .
Protection to persons and property $359.6
Street maintenance and sanitation $177.7
Public highways, buildings and structures $64.7
Library $22.2
Public service enterprises $116.4
General city purposes $60.4
Debt service $85.6
Pensions $79.3
Health and welfare $52.2
General government $35
Total outgo $1,053,141,424

According to the formal rules of Chicago city government, the City Council is supposed to have the main responsibility for creating the budget. The City Council Finance Committee prepares the budget and the City Council approves it by majority vote. The Mayor is expected to have some influence on the process, but the main power for budget making is supposed to be held by the members of the City Council Finance Committee.

In practice, Mayor Daley has dominated the budget making process. He communicates his wishes about the budget to the Finance Committee, whose members tend to agree with the Mayor. In 1974 and 1975, the City Council approved the recommendations of the Finance Committee without reservation.

The power to control the budget is the power to determine who gets what from the city government. In Chicago, Mayor Daley has had the final word about the giving or withholding of these resources.

Do Formal Rules Account For Mayor Daley's Clout?

One source of political influence are formal rules, or laws. The Constitution of this United States is the highest law of the land. It describes the powers of the President, the Congress, etc.* For example, the Constitution says that the President has the power to be commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States. According to this formal rule, generals are supposed to take orders from the President.

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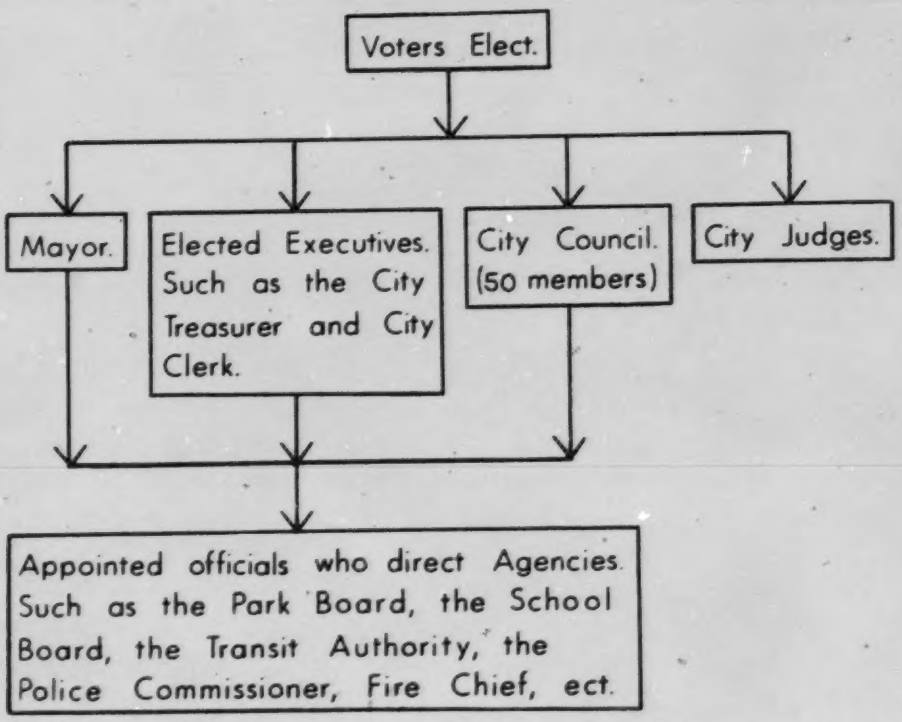
* See pages 000-000 in Unit One of Political Systems for a discussion of formal rules and the powers of the Presidency, the Congress, and the Supreme Court.

The Municipal Code includes the formal rules for the government of Chicago. To what extent does Mayor Daley's clout stem from the laws stated in the Municipal Code? Try to answer this question as you read the following information about the structure of government in Chicago.

The Weak Mayor Plan of City Government

As organized by law, the city government of Chicago consists of distinct executive, legislative, and judicial bodies. The legislative branch of government (the City Council) is supposed to make the laws. The executive branch, headed by the Mayor, is expected to carry out and enforce the laws. The judicial branch (the legal court system) is supposed to make judgments in terms of the law to settle disputes and to determine guilt or innocence of those charged with crimes against the community.

The following diagram shows roughly the formal structure of Chicago city government.


Voters Elect.
Mayor.
Elected Executives. Such as the City Treasurer and City Clerk.
City Council. (50 members)
City Judges.
Appointed officials who direct Agencies. Such as the Park Board, the School Board, the Transit Authority, the Police Commissioner, Fire Chief, ect.

This formal plan for government calls for de-centralization of authority. No one individual or group is supposed to be able to dominate others. Rather independence of political action is to be maintained.

Following are some main features of the formal status relationships in Chicago city government.

1. The Mayor presides at City Council meetings. According to the law, the Mayor can offer recommendations to the Council and can veto their decision.

2. The City Council can pass laws by a majority vote and can override a Mayor's veto with a majority vote. The Council can also check the other executives through the law-making power.

3. Appointed executives must be approved by a majority vote of the City Council.

4. Members of independent agencies, such as the school board, are appointed by the Mayor, but cannot be removed by him until the term of office expires.

5. Before the city can go into debt by issuing bonds, the voters must approve the bond issue in a public election.

6. The main branches of the city government are separated by law. There is a separation of powers so that each branch can check the other. In particular, the mayor does not have power to act decisively without the approval of the Council. And several members and agencies of the executive branch have the power to act independently of the mayor. This is why the formal structure of influence in Chicago can be called a weak mayor plan for city government.

Is the "Party Organization" the Source of Daley's Clout?

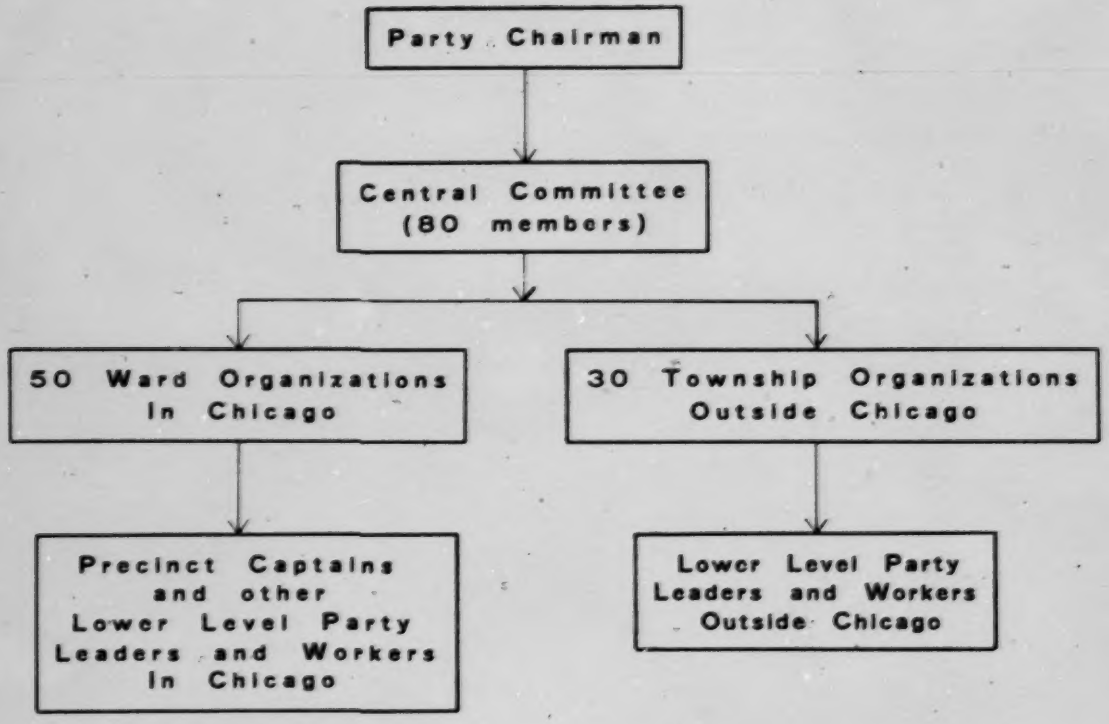
Some people claim that the Democratic Party organization of Cook County (where Chicago is located) is the main source of Mayor Daley's power. Is this an accurate claim? To what extent does Daley's clout stem from the party organization and his skill in leading it? Use the following evidence about the party organization to answer these questions.

The Party Organization

The Democratic party has been a dominant force in Chicago politics during the past thirty-five years. Although not part of the formal structure of government in Chicago, the party organization interlaces tightly with the formal government. For example, Richard J. Daley has been the Democratic Party Chairman in Cook County since 1953 and has been Mayor of Chicago since 1955. Several aldermen are members of the party's Central Committee. Daley's party organization has worked so smoothly and powerfully that the Democrats have been able to select most of their candidates for office. For example, as of 1975 the line-up in the City Council was 45 loyal Democrats, 4 independents, and 1 Republican. Thus, Mayor Daley is able to obtain a large majority of votes in the City Council almost any time he needs Council approval for something he wants to do.

Daley uses his positions of influence artfully to weave ties of loyalty that bind people to him. According to the strong traditions of Chicago politics, those whom the mayor helps are expected to be his loyal political supporters, to repay favor for favor. Candidates put into office by the party organization are expected to be loyal to the party leadership.

Following is a rough organizational chart of the Cook County Democratic Party.


Party Chairman
Central Committee (80 members)
50 Ward Organizations in Chicago
30 Township Organizations Outside Chicago
Precinct Captains and other Lower Level Party Leaders and Workers in Chicago
Lower Level Party Leaders and Workers Outside Chicago

Following are some main features of the Cook County Democratic Party Organization.

1. The Central Committee includes one representative from each of Chicago's 50 wards and one representative from each of the 30 township units in Cook County outside the city limits of Chicago.

2. The Central Committee has the power to select the Party Chairman according to majority vote.

3. The votes of the members of the Central Committee are weighted variously. Those from wards (or townships) in which large Democratic votes were cast in the last election are given more voting power. In contrast, those from wards (or townships) with a small Democratic vote are given less voting power. Thus, the inner-city wards which usually have the heaviest Democratic vote have most voting power in the Central Committee.

4. The influence in the party organization flows from the top down. Those at higher levels in the party hierarchy are in a position to dominate those at lower levels.

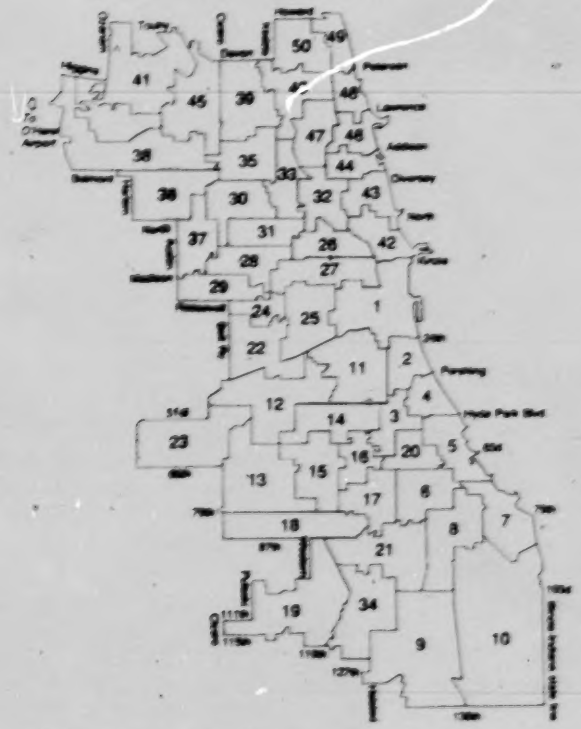
5. Once the Party Chairman has been selected, he is in a position to use influence to maintain and even build his influence through skillful political maneuvering.

6. A most important basis of influence for the party chairman is control over patronage. It has been estimated that Richard Daley, as Mayor and Party Chairman, is in a position to control from 30,000 to 35,000 patronage jobs. Of course, most of this control over patronage is exercised through the fifty ward leaders.

7. The Party Chairman serves as the treasurer for the party organization. Control over fund raising activities and the spending of funds is an important basis of influence.

8. The Party Chairman, with the Central Committee, has the power to decide who the party will support in public elections with funds and with campaign workers. Candidates not favored by the party organization are at a serious disadvantage in trying to win an election.

9. The party organization provides for centralization of influence. If those who control the party also control the city government, they can be in a position to extend this centralized control to the city government.



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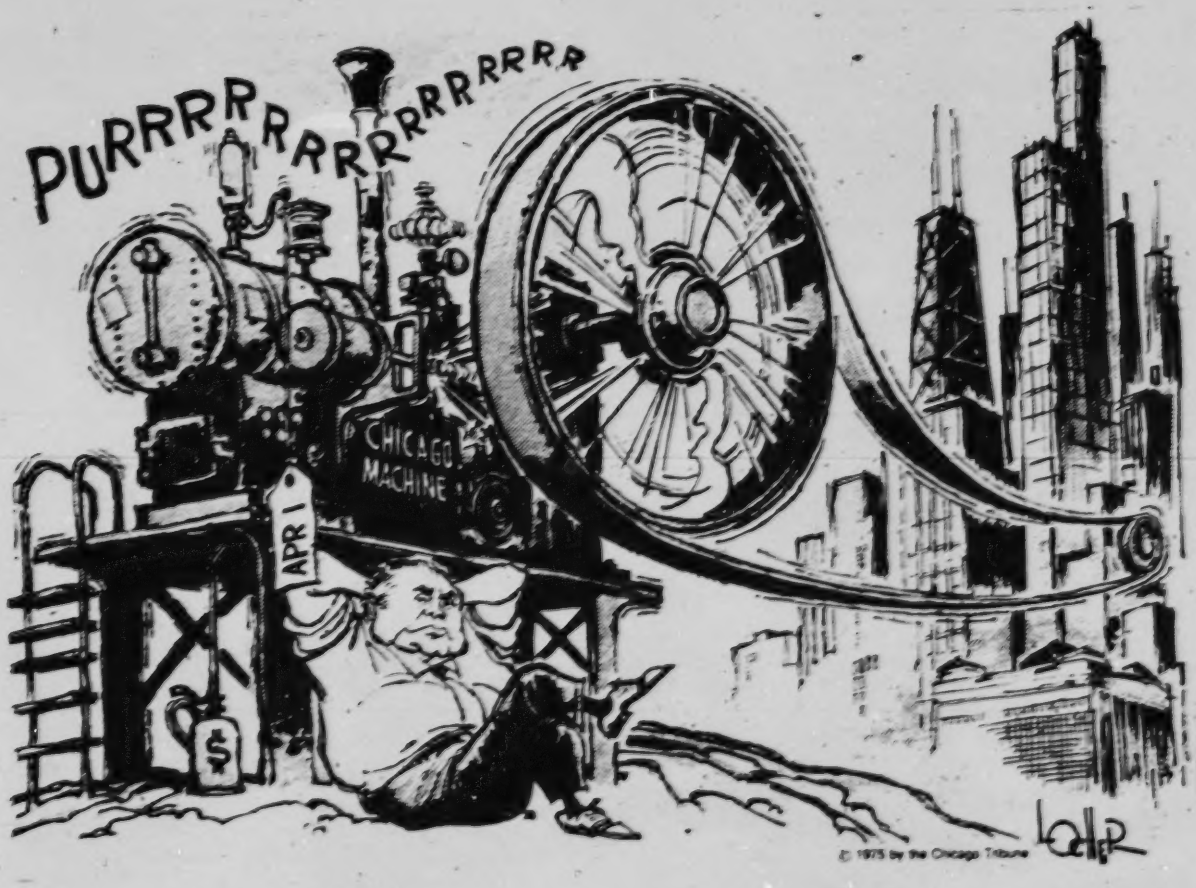
Following are two case studies which portray how the "party organization", or the "machine" (the term many observers apply to Daley's organization) works.



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The Ward Boss

Chicago is organized into 50 districts, or wards. Each ward elects one alderman, or representative, to the Chicago City Council. Each ward also has one representative in the Central Committee of the Cook County Democratic party organization. Vito Marzullo represents Chicago's 25th Ward in both the City Council and the Central Committee. Thus, he is in a strong position of influence in the ward where he is known as "the clout" or "the man."

A main basis of Marzullo's "clout," or influence, is patronage. Among politicians, patronage is the power to reward followers with jobs in government. Vito Marzullo has control over about 400 jobs in state, county, and city government.

Chicago Tribune Photo

In Chicago politics, <u>those who get are expected to give</u>. Thus, those who receive jobs from Marzullo are obligated to Marzullo politically. When Marzullo wants a political favor from his patronage workers, they are expected to give. For example, Marzullo's patronage workers are expected to help him raise money for the Democratic party, to appear at party functions, such as party dinners, campaign for Democratic party candidates approved by the Central Committee, and to turn out the vote on election day.

Getting out the vote is particularly important to Boss Marzullo. As county chairman of the Party, Mayor Daley measures Marzullo's worth in terms of how well he turns out the vote and defeats opposing candidates. Marzullo is given more patronage jobs to fill than many other ward bosses, because he is good at influencing the party faithful in his ward to vote on election day. In a typical election in the 25th Ward the party's candidate will defeat the opposition candidate by a vote of about 14,500 to 1,200.

Marzullo replaces patronage workers who do a poor job of getting out the vote just as ward bosses might be replaced by the County Chairman for a poor election day performance. Thus, the big payoff is on election day. Those who produce are safe until the next election. Those who fail lose their privileges.

Marzullo's ward organization practices the art of obligation to woo the voters of the 25th Ward and to insure their loyalty on election day. Numerous favors are extended to the voters of the ward. For example, someone may complain about the quality of garbage collection; Marzullo or one of his assistants will influence the government to provide the needed service. Another constituent may ask for a reduced water bill

because of a leaky pipe in the City's water system. Someone from Marzullo's organization is pleased to intervene with the right public official in order to help the constituent. A ward resident may have trouble obtaining a building permit. Marzullo is glad to see that he gets the permit quickly. As the ward boss says: "I know people, which speeds things up."

Marzullo spends about two evenings a week to provide personal services to ward residents. In return, he expects them to help him on election day. Those who fail to assume their obligations lose the services that Marzullo's organization can provide. In addition, they might suffer various harassments. In Chicago politics the greatest sin is disloyalty, the failure to live-up to obligations. As loyalty is rewarded, so disloyalty is often punished severely.

The Precinct Captain

Do you need to gripe to someone about getting your garbage collected? Do you need a favor from someone at city hall? In Chicago, people with problems like these may see their "precinct captain."

Each of the 50 wards in Chicago is divided into several precincts.* A precinct captain is the leader of the political party organization in each precinct. Each precinct captain is responsible to the leader of the ward in which his/her precinct is located.

The big wielders of clout in Chicago politics are the ward bosses. They hold the power to provide or withhold services, to do or not do favors for people. The precinct captains in each ward must work through

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* There are 3,146 precincts in Chicago

their ward bosses in order to help a voter get better garbage collection service or to gain a favor from someone at city hall. The precinct captain's power to deliver favors to people in his/her precincts depends on the power of the ward boss and the precinct captain's relationship to the "boss".

Most precinct captains hold some type of <u>patronage job</u> in city government. That is, they are given government jobs as a reward for loyalty and service to the party organization.

Following is a description of a precinct captain's patronage job.

Reprinted, Courtesy of The Chicago Tribune

"Why didn't ya say only one bulb was burned out? I wouldn't have needed to bring so many guys!"

"I'm a clerk in streets and sanitation and I don't do anything for a living!"

In one sentence, the life story and everlasting complaint of a Chicago patronage worker.

"I work one hour a day and set on my duff the rest of the time. I twiddle my thumbs....

There are at least 10,000 (patronage workers) on the city payroll. They hold useless and unnecessary jobs awarded them for getting out the vote at election time and fight a daily battle to better themselves. But they stay on an unending treadmill to keep those Democratic votes coming in, election after election, so they can hang on to what they've got....*

The precinct captains are supposed to use the spare time provided by easy patronage jobs to do services for the party organization. In particular they are expected to "pay" for their city jobs by working long and hard for "the party" during election campaigns. These loyal party workers have helped to produce the ballot box "blitzes" that have marked the political dominance of the "Daley machine."

The neighborhood leaders of "the machine" (the precinct captains) know that the Mayor and the ward bosses are continually watching their

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*Chicago Tribune, November 30, 1974, Reprinted Courtesy of The Chicago Tribune

performances in "turning-out" the votes on election day. Those who produce can expect to be rewarded with important political favors. Those who fail may face political decline and loss of influence with the Mayor and their ward boss.

Following is a description of how rewards and punishments are used to fuel "the machine" during election campaigns.

> Sheriff Richard Elrod, hoping to stay in office, had just addressed a private meeting of 200 party workers from the 48th Ward in the basement of the People's Church at 941 W. Lawrence Avenue.
>
> As he stepped down from the platform, Martin Tuchow, 48th Ward Democratic committeeman and himself a candidate for county commissioner announced:
>
> "We're going to carry you, and we're going to carry you big, Dick, the 48th'll do you justice."
>
> Elrod: "You do that, and I'll get you another 15 per cent of the jobs."
>
> Tuchow: "I'm going to hold ya to that!"
>
> Elrod: "But if you don't, I'm going to take 15 per cent of the jobs away, too..."
>
> The roll had been called, and Tuchow, chief aid to Elrod, had dutifully recorded the names of any precinct workers who failed to answer "here" at this must meeting.

Other Democratic candidates for various offices addressed the assembly - each receiving a standing ovation on a pre-arranged order from Tuchow -- and then the 48th Ward boss himself took center stage.

"You know what the key to success is," Tuchow said. "We all know what it is. The Mayor said it, and he's right. The key to a successful campaign is Work, Work, Work."

"You got to get out there and knock on those doors. You know what a large vote means. It means jobs."

"Votes mean jobs. Since I took over this Ward, I've gotten 120 jobs for the Ward. I've gotten 120 jobs, and that's because we're showing 'em downtown.

"Look, I don't like to get rid of a guy, but that's the way it works. I want to get a job for a guy or I want to upgrade a guy, the first thing they say is, 'Let's see his voter sheet.' I don't have to tell you that."

"I go to the Mayor and ask for the job, that's the first thing he'll want to know: Show me his precinct vote and I'll let you know whether there's a job."

"If I come in with a poor showing, there's nothing I can do. The Mayor will want to look at those sheets."*

---

*Chicago Tribune, November 24, 1974. Reprinted, Courtesy of The Chicago Tribune

Use the information on pages 114-132 to answer these questions. Apply your knowledge of the relationship of political activities and resources to your discussion of these questions.

1. What are the bases of Mayor Daley's domination of Chicago politics?
2. How has he managed to gain and maintain his "clout?"
3. To what extent does Mayor Daley's Chicago fit the elite political system model?

The Patronage System -- Should It Be Abolished?

Many political reformers would end the patronage system which fuels Daley's "machine." For example, William Singer, a political opponent of Daley, has claimed that it undermines the integrity and quality of government. Leaders of the Better Government Association of Chicago (BGA) also have said that the patronage system is wasteful. "In times like these, Chicagoans can no longer afford to have their tax dollars used to fund a political patronage army." Other critics oppose patronage, because the system enables the creation and maintenance of "political bosses" such as Daley.

However, the patronage system has its defenders. Some say that the mayor of a big city needs "clout" to run the city properly. The patronage system gives the mayor the power to be in control, to command people to get things done.

State Representative Harold Washington of Chicago, a black political leader, also argues for the patronage system.

"I'm not about to join the liberal wolf pack nipping

at the heels of the patronage system," Washington said unashamedly. "Instead of destroying the patronage system, black people should take it over and get more out of it."

At the same time, he is not satisfied with patronage as it currently operates. "Blacks don't have enough jobs in certain levels, such as in Middle Management, supervisory, and high appointive positions.

"I don't want to change the patronage system. I want to improve it," he explained. "Blacks have been in this (Democratic) party for 30 years and we have made great contributions to it, and now that we are about to reach the Holy Grail they want to change the system."

Washington estimates that patronage accounts for "300 to 400 jobs in predominately black wards, which means nearly $2 million in income per ward... "I'm not about to sit back knowing what I know about this system -- and accept a proposition that calls for its dismantling.

Washington said the label patronage takes on dirty connotations only when it refers to average jobs for average people. "The ambassador to Spain or to England is a patronage job. The federal director of the Department of Labor is a patronage appointment.

"My position is that the patronage system should be shared equally with black people."*

Answer these questions about the patronage system.

1. Do you agree with Harold Washington's defense of the patronage system? Why?
2. With which of these statements about the Chicago patronage system do you agree or disagree?
   a. The patronage system leads to waste and corruption in government. Thus, it should be done away with.
   b. The patronage system enables the mayor to command resources with which to manage city government more effectively. Thus, the patronage system should be maintained.
   c. The patronage system gives the Mayor <u>too</u> much power. Thus, the system should be done away with.

Give at least one reason for your agreement or disagreement with each statement in the preceding list.

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* <u>Chicago Tribune</u>, March 21, 1975. Reprinted, Courtesy of The Chicago Tribune

Activity C-3: Elections and Voter Behavior in Two Systems

Local politics in different parts of the United States may be quite different from place to place. In addition, some local political systems in the United States may be quite different from the national political system. Following are two case studies which show similarities and differences in a local political systems (Chicago) and the national political system.

Case 1: Daley's Biggest Win

On April 1, 1975, Richard J. Daley, at age 72, won an unprecedented sixth term as Mayor of Chicago. His smoothly oiled "machine" worked to perfection as he received 536,413 votes while his Republican party challenger, John Hoellen got only 136,874 votes.

On February 25, 1975, Daley had crushed three Democratic party challengers in a primary election to win his party's nomination as mayoral candidate in the April 1 final election.* The following three tables show the extent of Daley's victory.

Table 13: Results of Chicago Mayoral Election, April 1, 1975

Candidate	Votes	Percent
Richard J. Daley (D)	536,413	78
John J. Hoellen (R)	136,874	20
Willie Mae Reid (Socialist)	16,749	2

---

*In Chicago, candidates for Mayor are nominated by the voters of their party in a primary election. The winners of each political party's primary election represent the party in the final election for mayor.

Table 14 : Results of Democratic Party Mayoral Primary Election, February 25, 1975

Candidate	Votes	Percent
Richard J. Daley	432,224	58
William Singer	217,764	29
Richard Newhouse	58,548	8
Edward Hanrahan	37,034	5

Candidates of Daley's organization also won an overwhelming majority of the City Council seats, as indicated by Table 15.

Table 15 : Chicago City Council Lineup Following the 1975 Election

Party	Number of Seats	Percent of Total Seats
Democrat	45	90
Republican	1	2
Independent	4	8

In both the primary and final elections, Daley won a majority of the votes in each of the city's fifty wards.

Why did Daley's organization win such a big victory? Why were Republican and Independent candidates unable to challenge Daley more successfully? Try to answer these questions as you read the following commentary about main aspects of the 1975 Chicago Mayoral election.

Candidate Profiles

Richard Daley faced three challengers in the Democratic mayoral primary election: William Singer, Richard Newhouse, and Edward Hanrahan. Each candidate believed that he had an outstanding chance to defeat Daley.

Singer had emerged on the Chicago political scene in 1971 as an upset winner of a City Council seat. He had defeated a Daley-backed candidate to become the alderman from the 43rd Ward. Since that time, he had become a stinging critic of Daley's leadership of Chicago government.

Richard Newhouse was a state senator who hoped to rally the support of blacks and white reformers tired of "machine" politics.

Edward Hanrahan was the former State's Attorney. He had been a loyal member of Daley's organization, but he and the mayor had clashed, and Hanrahan was no longer a member of the Democratic party "in-group." He had a tough "law and order" image and hoped to appeal to voters who were concerned that many streets of Chicago are dangerous after dark.

John Hoellen, the Republican Party Candidate*

*Chicago Tribune Photo

Daley's Democratic Party Challengers*

William Singer

Richard Newhouse

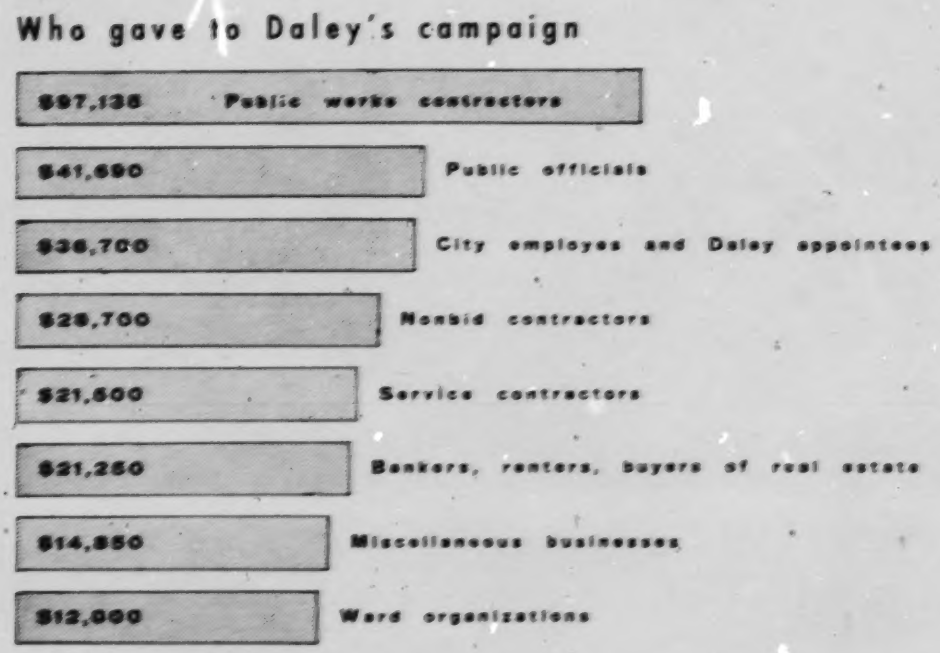
Edward Hanrahan

*Chicago Tribune Photos

Singer was considered the strongest of these challengers to Daley. He had created his own political organization which included over 2,800 workers -- almost as many as the 3,100 precinct captains in Daley's "machine." Singer also was able to amass more than $240,000 in campaign contributions in order to pay for a first-rate campaign.

In contrast, Hanrahan and Newhouse had many less campaign workers and much less in campaign contributions. For example, Newhouse raised less than $25,000 to pay for campaign expenses.

Daley had several advantages over his challengers. First, as the county chairman of the Democratic party and the incumbent mayor, he commanded the distribution of many rewards, in particular patronage jobs. His ability to attract campaign contributions was an indicator of his power to give or withhold important things. For example, people hoping to gain favors from Daley were motivated to give him large campaign contributions. The following graph shows the different types of people who contributed and how much they contributed.



Notice that public works contractors, city employees, and public officials were the three groups contributing the most money to Daley's campaign fund. People in each of these groups have a large stake in Daley's electoral success. For example, public works contractors hope to obtain big jobs from the city government, such as constructing roads, buildings, bridges, etc. City employees want to keep their patronage jobs or to obtain better jobs in the party or city government. Public officials want Daley to help them to boost their political careers. These people hoped to trade their support for Daley during this election campaign for his help following his re-election to the mayor's office.

The Issues and the Campaign

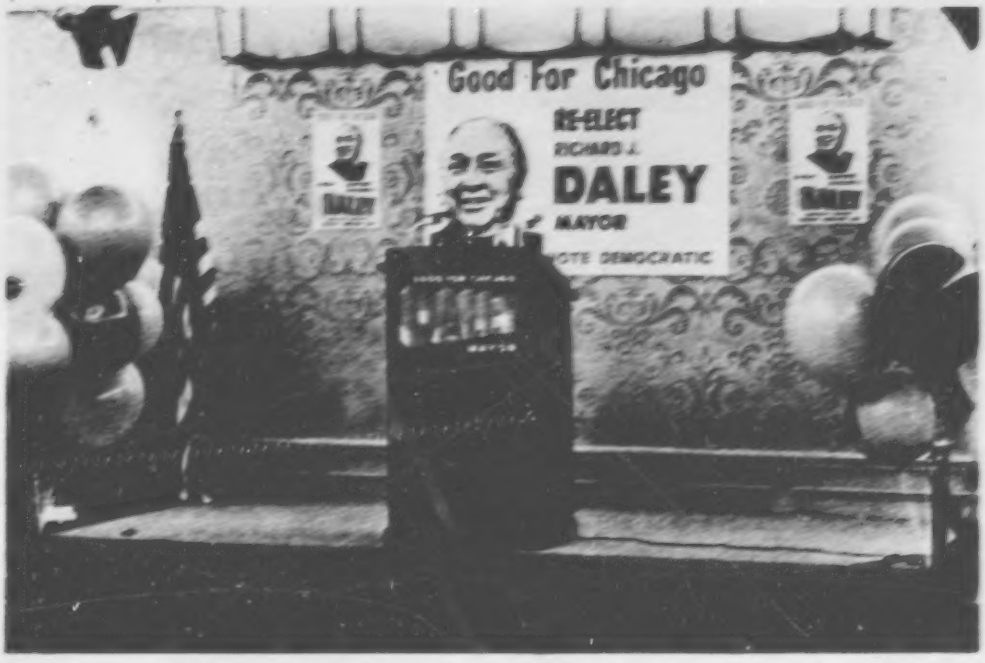
Throughout the Democratic party primary election campaign, Daley stressed his many accomplishments as mayor. He pointed out that Chicago is the best lighted city in the nation, that the city has one of the world's best mass transit systems, that the downtown business center has grown and prospered extensively, that the property tax rate has been reduced, etc. Above all, he compared the efficiency of his administration of Chicago government with the massive breakdowns in public services in other big cities such as New York.

Daley made a special effort to appeal to the various ethnic, social, and economic groups in the city. During the campaign he was photographed wearing a Mexican sombrero, lighting the first candle at a Hanukkah service, and standing with Bobby Vinton who was holding a "Polish Power" T-shirt. He visited black churches on Chicago's southside and won the endorsement of numerous black ministers. He reminded labor union members of his working class background and of his many contributions to labor

organizations. He reminded businessmen that his administration had contributed greatly to the increase of construction projects throughout the city and to higher profits for downtown businesses.

Daley's campaign was symbolized by the slogan used in his 30-second spot commercials on TV: "Vote for Daley -- He's Good for Chicago."

Mayor Daley's Campaign*



*Chicago Tribune Photos

Singer, Newhouse, and Hanrahan tried to counter Daley's campaign moves by saying that he had become too old for the demanding mayor's job. They also reminded voters that Daley had been ill recently with a stroke. They raised questions about his physical fitness.

The three challengers also pointed out that many of Daley's political allies had been indicted or convicted of various crimes such as bribery, mail fraud, vote fraud, etc. While no one accused Daley of breaking the law, they stressed that he was to blame for choosing several political associates who were corrupt.

Singer and Newhouse argued that Daley had been a "mortar and bricks" mayor, that he cared more about the development of Chicago's skyline than about programs to meet the needs of poor people. In particular, they charged that Daley had served the needs of businessmen and labor leaders to the detriment of poor people, especially poor black people.

Chicago Tribune Photo

Voter Support

Mayor Daley's votes support came mainly from working class men and women over age 45 who had not gone to college. Racially, Daley's supporters reflected the city as a whole -- roughly two-thirds white and one-third black.

Those who voted for William Singer, Daley's main challenger, were more wealthy, better educated, and younger. College graduates in Chicago tended to vote for Singer as did voters under 25 years of age.

The Singer voters were more concerned about issues than the Daley voters were. Sixty-three percent of those who voted for Daley said they had decided to support him either "very early" in the campaign or "before the campaign started." Certainly the discussion of issues during the campaign had little or no influence on these people.*

Important support for Daley also came from many businessmen, independent voters, and even Republicans. Why? Perhaps these people supported Daley because they trusted his proven record of leadership ability. In addition, Daley has stressed service to all regardless of party or occupation. In particular, his policies have contributed significantly to the success of many Chicago businesses.

The April 1 Mayoral Election

Daley's victory in the Democratic party primary election qualified him to represent his party in the April 1 final election. His main challenger in this race was the Republican party candidate John J. Hoellen. Willie Mae Reid of the Socialist Labor Party also offered token opposition.

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*Chicago Tribune, March 2, 1975.

For many years Hoellen had represented the 47th Ward in the City Council. From 1971-75, he was the only Republican member of the City Council.

However, Hoellen's chances for defeating Daley were meager. He had lost his seat in the City Council to Democrat Eugene Schutler in the February 25th election. Financial support for his campaign was small, and he had a very small, ineffective campaign organization.

Daley defeated Hoellen overwhelmingly in each of the city's fifty wards. In 15 wards, he received more than 85 percent of the votes.

Reprinted, Courtesy of the
Chicago Tribune

Case 2: The Nixon Landslide

Republican President Richard M. Nixon won an overwhelming victory over Democratic challenger George S. McGovern in the 1972 presidential election. He and his vice-presidential running mate, Spiro T. Agnew, won in 49 of the 50 states. McGovern and his running mate, Sargent Shriver won only in Massachusetts and the District of Columbia. (See Table 16 below.)

Nixon received 47,168,963 (61%) popular votes to McGovern's 29,169,615 (38%) popular votes. Needing 270 electoral votes to win, Nixon won 521 (97%).

Despite the Nixon landslide, the Republican party did not win control of the Congress in the 1972 election. There were 33 Senate seats at stake in this election. Ten of these seats shifted parties. The Democrats picked up six seats and the Republicans won four. Overall, the Democrats gained two Senate seats, increasing their majority to 57-43. (See Table 16 below.)

The Republicans did gain 12 seats in the House of Representatives. However, the Democrats retained a large majority of seats in the House. They held 243 seats, the Republicans had 191, and there was 1 independent. (See Table 16 below.)

The Democrats also increased by one their majority among the state governors. Eighteen governorships were at stake. Five changed parties. The Democrats won three, and the Republicans won two. (See Table 16 below.)

Table 16 : Results of the 1972 Election

President	Popular Vote		Electoral Vote	
Richard Nixon (Republican)	47,168,963	(61%)	521	(97%)
George McGovern (Democrat)	29,169,615	(38%)	17	(3%)
John Schmitz (American Independent Party)	1,080,541	(1%)	0	(0%)

House of Representatives	Old Lineup*	Gains/Losses	New Lineup
Democrats	255	-12	243
Republicans	177	+14	191
Independents	0	+1	1
Senate			
Democrats	55	+2	57
Republicans	45	-2	43
Governors			
Democrats	30	+1	31
Republicans	20	-1	19

Why did Nixon win a landslide victory? Why did the Republican party fail to win control of the Congress or a majority of the state governorships? How can you account for the results of the 1972 presidential election? Try to answer these questions as you read the following commentary about main aspects of the 1972 presidential election.

Candidate Profiles

Competition between two major parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, is a main feature of political life in the USA. The purpose of each major party is to organize people with roughly similar

*There were three vacant seats before the 1972 election.

political ideas for the purpose of nominating and electing members of the party to public office.

In 1972, George McGovern (Democrat) and Richard Nixon (Republican) headed their parties in a national election.

George McGovern, the Democratic presidential nominee, had represented South Dakota in the U.S. Senate since 1962. He was generally regarded as a "liberal" Senator. For instance, the Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal organization, had given McGovern a 13 year rating of 86.2% for his voting record in the Senate. In contrast, the Americans for Constitutional Action, a conservative organization, had given him a 9.3% rating.

McGovern began his bid for the presidency on January 18, 1971, with a televised speech in South Dakota. He said: "The kind of campaign I intend to run will rest on candor and reason." He pledged to end the Vietnam War immediately if elected.

Major challengers to McGovern for the Democratic party presidential nomination were Governor George Wallace of Alabama, Senator Henry Jackson of Washington, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and Mayor John Lindsay of New York.

From January 1971 until July 1972, these men competed for their party's nomination. Their competition was settled on July 12, 1972 at the Democratic party convention in Miami Beach. To gain the presidential nomination, a candidate needed 1,509 of the 3,016 total votes of the delegates at the convention. McGovern received 1,715 delegate votes on the first ballot of the convention. The coalition of delegates supporting McGovern included representatives of important black, women's,

and youth groups. However, McGovern failed to receive support from representatives of several important labor unions including George Meany, the head of the AFL-CIO labor organization.

In his nominations speech, for McGovern, Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut said that McGovern would pledge an immediate end to the Vietnam War, a reversal of Nixon's economic policies which had resulted in "high unemployment, widespread inflation, and escalating food prices, and a reordering of priorities to rebuild the country, enhance its prosperity, and lessen poverty and hunger."

President Richard Nixon was renominated in August 22, 1972 at the Republican Party Convention in Miami Beach. He won 1,347 of the 1,348 delegate votes. This display of party unity often happens when the President is seeking renomination.

The party platform which emerged from the convention reflected Nixon's views on current issues. It included his terms for ending the Vietnam War, his strong opposition to school busing for integration, and his support for maintaining strong armed forces. Compared to McGovern, Nixon was considered to be much more conservative in his political beliefs.

The Campaign

During the summer and fall of 1972, the two presidential candidates tried to woo voter support. The Republicans spent almost $50 million to finance TV ads, public appearances, and campaign literature. The Democrats had much less money in their campaign. They were able to spend less than $25 million dollars.

The Republican party usually is able to attract more campaign funds for national elections than the Democrats can. Perhaps this reflects the fact that a larger proportion of wealthy people tend to identify with the Republican party rather than with the Democrats.

In order to win the Presidency, the Republicans had to maintain the support of loyal party members and to win the support of most independents and some Democrats. This is because more voters have identified with the Democrats rather than the Republicans. See the following Table.

Table 17 : Political Party Identification*

	YEAR			
Party	1952	1960	1968	1972
Democrats	47%	46%	45%	40%
Independents	22%	23%	29%	35%
Republicans	27%	27%	24%	23%
Don't Know	4%	4%	2%	2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

In order to win the Presidency, the Democrats had to maintain the allegiance of most of those who tend to identify with their party.

A consequence of the political party preferences shown in Table 17 is that since the 1930's, the Democrats have been more successful at winning positions in the national government. The Democrats have usually outnumbered the Republicans in Congress. During this period (1932-1972) Democrats have also held the presidency for 28 years. The Republicans have occupied the White House for only twelve years.

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*The American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

During the campaign, Nixon succeeded in attracting many voters who typically support Democratic candidates. In particular, he gained support of many labor union members who usually vote for the Democrats. These usual Democratic voters supported Nixon while continuing to support Democratic candidates for Congress and for state and local government offices.

Many typical Democratic voters defected from McGovern because they believed his ideas to be "too far out." Many also distrusted McGovern's leadership and decision-making skills. They believed that Nixon had more ability to manage the government.

Voter Support

Massive support for Nixon came from almost every group in the electorate and every region of the country. He got 60% of the urban vote, 70% of the suburban vote, and 80% of the rural vote.

Only black voters (87%) and lower income voters (55%) gave strong support to McGovern. Thirty-three percent of those who identified with the Democratic party voted for Nixon. Most of these voters continued to support Democratic Congressional candidates.

Table 18 shows the types of people who tended to support the Democrats or the Republicans in elections of representatives to Congress. Categories 2 (occupation) and 5 (education) in the table suggest that those with more education and higher paying jobs were more likely to support the Republican than the Democratic candidates. However, the Democrats also had large numbers of these types of supporters as indicated by the 43% of college graduates and the 44% of professional and business people who prefer the Democratic candidates.

Table 18: Question: If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in this congressional district, the Republican party or the Democratic party? (1970)*

Group	Party D	R	Total
1. Age			
21-29 years	60%	40%	100%
30-29 years	54%	46%	100%
50 years and over	50%	50%	100%
2. Occupation			
Professional and Business	44%	56%	100%
White Collar	43%	57%	100%
Manual Workers	67%	33%	100%
Farmers	45%	55%	100%
3. Religion			
Protestant	47%	53%	100%
Catholic	62%	38%	100%
Jews	80%	20%	100%
4. Race			
White	51%	49%	100%
Non-White	82%	18%	100%
5. Education			
College	43%	57%	100%
High School	56%	44%	100%
Grade School	59%	41%	100%

Election Eve

On November 7, 1972, as the vote totals poured in, McGovern acknowledged his defeat. He congratulated Nixon and offered his full support in his efforts to "lead us to a time of peace abroad and justice at home."

Nixon accepted his victory. He said: "A huge landslide victory means nothing at all unless it is a victory for America. It will be

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*The American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

a victory for America only if in these next four years we, all of us, can work together to achieve our great common goals ..."

Ironically, less than two years after his landslide election victory, Nixon was preparing to resign from office. He had been accused of improper conduct associated with the "Watergate scandal" and was forced from office by a hostile Congress and an aroused public.

Answer these questions about the 1975 Chicago mayoral election and the 1972 presidential election.

1. Can you use the idea of political resources to help you explain the landslide election victories of Daley in 1975 and Nixon in 1972?
2. Which election victory, Daley's or Nixon's, was more overwhelming? That is, in which case did the election losers have the <u>least</u> potential for effective opposition to the winners?
3. In which case is the political resource pattern more like the pattern described in the elite political system model? Explain.
4. In which case is the political resource pattern more like the pattern found in the coalitional political system model? Explain.

Part D: Political Maintenance and Change

Activity D-1: Who Runs the Chicago Police Department?

Resources such as wealth, status, ideas, skills and information can be distributed in a variety of ways. In elite systems such as Chicago, resources are held by a very small group of people. In coalitional systems such as the United States, different resources are held by many different groups. People in both types of systems use resources to make decisions and carry out policies. An important question remains: How does the distribution and use of political resources affect political experiences in a system? Related to this question are issues of how wealth is used to <u>maintain</u> a political system or how skills are used to <u>change</u> a system.

Part D focuses on how resources affect the political experiences of maintenance and change. You will first listen to an audio tape about the Chicago police department. The transcript of the tape is included in the following pages. In discussing the tape, you will see how resources affect maintenance and change in elite political systems.

Who Runs the Chicago Police Department

March 2, 1960 was an important day for the citizens of Chicago. Everyone was full of expectation as Mayor Richard J. Daley swore in a new Superintendent of Police, Orlando W. Wilson. Many Chicagoans wondered whether a new superintendent would make much difference. Mayor Daley and the Democratic machine had been running the city and the police department for five years. Their power was firmly entrenched.

The day's events were being discussed at dinner tables all over the city. Jack and Marsha Rhodes had just moved to Chicago. They were having dinner with two old friends from college, Gerald and Sandy Grimes. All four had been politically active in college. Gerald and Sandy were impressed with Mayor Daley when they moved to Chicago in 1957, but they were quickly disullusioned and had worked against his reelection in 1959. The conversation at dinner quickly turned to Daley's Democratic machine and the new police superintendent.

Jack: It sure was great of you to invite us over for dinner tonight. Moving to a new town is easier when there are old friends there.

Sandy: Well, we're glad you two decided to move to Chicago. We had some really good times at college working on political campaigns. Remember that victory banquet in '56?

Gerald: Yeah. Since you're here, maybe you could work with us against Daley next time.

Marsha: You know, ever since we came here, all we've heard is "Mayor Daley this," and "Mayor Daley that." You'd think he was a king or something.

Jack: Yeah. How has he managed to keep everything under his control?

Gerald: He can do it because he runs the Democratic "machine." Remember reading in American history class about the big political machines, like Tammany Hall in New York? Well, there's still a machine in Chicago.

Sandy: Right. He can hand out almost 35,000 patronage jobs to people who work for the Democrats during elections. The Mayor gives the Democratic bosses of the 50 wards a certain number of jobs to give away to loyal party workers.

Jack: What kinds of jobs are they?

Gerald: Some of them are small jobs, such as garbage man. Others are more lucrative, like city inspector or assistant attorney general. Almost any city job can be a patronage job.

Jack: But don't you have to pass a civil service exam in order to get most government jobs?

Sandy: Sure, but Mayor Daley appoints people "temporarily" until the next exams are held. Then the exams keep getting postponed. So you might as well not have civil service at all.

Marsha: But how can the Mayor be sure that the patronage employees work for the party?

Sandy: That's easy. The number of patronage jobs a ward boss gets depends on the number of Democratic votes cast in his ward. So if a patronage worker wants to keep his job, he has to ring door bells, or drive people to the polls, or distribute campaign literature--something to get out the vote.

Gerald: He also contributes money to the party.

Sandy: That's right. He has to give a certain percentage of his salary to the ward boss. Some of this then goes to the party's central committee.

Marsha: But surely Daley needs more than the support of the patronage workers to run the city.

Gerald: Of course. He also goes hand in glove with big labor unions. He helps them get good contracts and puts labor leaders on important city committees.

Sandy: And in return the union gives lots of money to the Democrats, and union members campaign for the machine's candidates.

Jack: Labor unions are powerful political forces in lots of places.

Sandy: Yeah, but in Chicago they know that they'll get city contracts and good wages as long as they back Daley.

Marsha: We've noticed a lot of construction work since we've moved here.

Gerald: That's one of the reasons the business interests -- even wealthy Republicans -- support Daley now. They didn't at first. But there's a lot of money to be made in those construction projects.

Jack: From what we've read about the recent scandals, I assume the police are controlled by Daley's machine too.

Gerald: You'd better believe it. Even before Daley became mayor in '55, the Democratic machine ran the police department. And he's sure kept his hand in. The police commissioner's office is at City Hall, not at the Police Department. In fact, the commissioner has no control over the police. The top guys are seven old assistant commissioners who were appointed by Daley because of their political connections. If a politician wants a policeman transferred or promoted, he calls one of those guys.

Sandy: The ward bosses keep their fingers in it too. The boundaries of most of the police districts are the same as the wards, so a ward boss usually gets to pick the police commander for his district.

Marsha: I'm not surprised then that there's so much corruption. If a policeman's job depends on a party boss, he'll probably cooperate -- even if he wants to be honest.

Jack: Yeah, but from what I've read in the papers, it looks like most cops don't want to be honest. Do you believe that a policeman would rather be assigned to a district where there's a lot of crime than one where there isn't? It must be really profitable to take pay off from crooks.

Sandy: Sure. You've heard about the practice of clipping a $5 bill to your driver's license so the policeman can take it? That started right here in good old Chicago.

Marsha: You'd think people would get tired of corruption.

Chicago Tribune Photo

Summerdale Loot

Gerald: Maybe. But a lot of people think it's easier to bribe a cop than go to traffic court and get a mark against their record. It's only after a really shocking thing happens, like the Summerdale Scandals, that people get upset about how the machine runs the city. Usually in the past they accepted it as a fact of life in Chicago.

Jack: That scandal is amazing! Imagine, a gang of policemen robbing stores while on duty and then putting the loot right in their squad cars.

Marsha: I find it hard to believe that they've been getting away with it for two years.

Sandy: Well, anytime another cop found out about it, they'd cut him in on the loot. So no one was going to blow the whistle. No one except Richard Morrison, that is.

Marsha: Exactly who is Richard Morrison?

Sandy: He was just a small time burglar in the Summerdale area. He told the grand jury that a couple of policemen approached him and hinted that they'd like to be cut in on his jobs. What a great position for a burglar! While he was breaking in, the policemen would be serving as lookouts! Sometimes after he'd finished, his "partners" would back up their patrol cars and load them up with merchandise. It might have gone on forever if Morrison hadn't been arrested in July 1959.

Jack: July '59? But I thought I read that the case broke in January this year. Why the long wait?

Gerald: Well, after Morrison got arrested, he tried to tell the authories about his accomplices in uniform, but at first no one would listen. It wasn't until after he'd been tried and convicted that his story made its way to the state's attorney's office.

Sandy: That's when it started to break. State's attorney Benjamin Adamowski is a long time enemy of Mayor Daley's. He's always been more than happy to expose scandal in Daley's administration.

Marsha: It was just after we got here in January that the papers carried the story. I can remember the description of the loot they found in the policemen's homes when they were searched -- television sets, appliances, radios, cameras, furniture, tires, automobile batteries, and on and on.

Gerald: There have been other police scandals, of course, but Summerdale seemed to be the last straw. For days and weeks the papers were full of pictures and stories about the "Bandits in Blue." It made it even worse when other police scandals turned up.

Both the public and honest policemen were angry. They weren't willing to "accept" the machine's control of the police department any more.

Sandy: Yeah. All the hoopla was too much for the Mayor. He dismissed Police Commissioner Timothy O'Connor and appointed a blue-ribbon committee to find a new commissioner.

Gerald: The man the committee picked, Orlando W. Wilson, was sworn in today as Superintendent of Police. Say, it's almost time for the news. Let's catch it and see what it has to say.

Anchor Man: Good evening. Tonight on WKPM Eyewitness News we have reports on the latest crime statistics, a commuter train wreck, and a summary of national and international events. But first, a feature story on Superintendent of Police Dean Orlando W. Wilson who was sworn in at ceremonies today.

Many observers agree that Wilson is just what Chicago needs. His reputation as a criminologist is unsurpassed. The 60 year old Wilson comes to Chicago from the University of California at Berkeley where he was a professor of police administration and Dean of the School of Criminology. From 1928 to 1939 as Chief of Police in Wichita, Kansas, he cleaned up that crime-ridden town. We have a filmed report on the events of the past 10 days from Gloria Scopes at City Hall. Gloria.

Gloria: Mayor Richard Daley announced the appointment of Dr. Orlando Wilfield Wilson as Superintendent of Police on Monday, February 22. At the time Wilson proclaimed, "I have no doubt that this job is the greatest challenge in this type of work, anywhere in the United States or in the world." Wilson made it clear at a news conference the next day that he would not tolerate any political interference as superintendent. He specifically stated that ward bosses would get no special consideration during his administration.

Chicago Tribune Photo

Wilson Receives Letter of
Appointment from Mayor Daley

Mayor Daley has agreed to this demand. He told reporters last week, "I have given Professor Wilson my assurance that no influence upon the Police Department will be used by anyone."

Dean Wilson has set himself two goals -- to clean up police corruption and to make the Chicago police department the best law enforcement agency in the country. Wilson told the Mayor at today's ceremony, "I assure you and the citizens of Chicago that I will do the utmost to assist you in providing Chicago with the finest police department in the country."

There is considerable speculation about whether Wilson will be able to revamp the archaic and corrupt police department. Observers, especially, wonder whether the new superintendent will really have the freedom Daley has promised. There are some hints that he will. First, the Mayor has promised Wilson all the money necessary to carry out his reforms. Second, Wilson received a surprising 3-year contract. That makes him the first police head in the city's history to have any tenure. His job won't depend on whether or not he pleases the Mayor.

Most Chicagoans I've talked to are cautiously hopeful that today's ceremony will mark a turning point in Chicago's city government.

Anchor Man: Gloria will have another report on the 10 o'clock edition of WKPM Eyewitness News. We will return with more news following this commercial message.

Gerald: Well, it will be interesting to see what happens in the next few years.

Sandy: It sure will. We've heard promises from Mayor Daley before, but quite a few of them haven't been kept.

Marsha: Isn't it possible that the Mayor is just changing the head man to shift the blame and stop the criticism?

Jack: Yeah, and couldn't Daley find some way to dump Wilson if he really wanted to?

Gerald: Oh, probably, but Wilson has already impressed a lot of people. If he is able to make the Chicago police department more effective and less corrupt, Daley might be stuck with him.

Marsha: What if the police department itself doesn't want to be reformed? It sounds like corruption is a pretty lucrative business.

Sandy: That sure could be a problem. Also the ward bosses probably won't be too happy about losing a prize like the police.

Gerald: I think what happens will depend a lot on how much the Mayor wants to...

Sandy: or has to...

Gerald: Yeah, or has to back Wilson. If the furor over the corruption dies down and people go back to accepting the Democratic machine as the government of this city and the police department, the Mayor will probably be able to back down on his reform promises.

Jack: Well, this has been a very enjoyable dinner...

Marsha: And an informative conversation, but we really should be leaving. There's still a lot of unpacking to do. Thanks for inviting us over.

Sandy: We'll have to get together often now that you're living in Chicago.

Gerald: Good night.

Others: Good night.

Discussion Questions

1. What political resources do you find in the Chicago police department case? How do people use these resources?

2. The police department was maintained as an arm of the mayor's office until Orlando Wilson was hired. How were resources used to support political maintenance in Chicago?

3. At the time Wilson was hired, there were some basic changes occurring involving the role of the police department in Chicago politics. What were these changes?

4. How did political resources contribute to the changes that occurred at the time Wilson was hired? How might they contribute to future changes?

Generalizations about Maintenance and Change

You have seen how resources affected maintenance and change in Chicago politics. You have seen how elites can control resources, like patronage, and promote maintenance of a system. You have also seen how new people or groups can gain resources, as Wilson did, and changes can occur. You know this was true in Chicago, but is it also true of other cases?

In order to expand your knowledge about the effect of resources on political experiences, you need to know something about generalizations. A generalization is a statement that is true for more than one case. Making a generalization isn't difficult. You do it all the time when you say "Students want a smoking lounge" or "Teachers are unfair." What you are saying applies to all or most (at least more than one) of the students and teachers you know.

There are two major steps in making a generalization:

1. Identifying one or more concepts.
2. Making a straight forward statement using the concept(s).

"Resources" is a concept. So is "political maintenance." "Students" and "Teachers" are also concepts. If you want to make a generalization about how resources affect political maintenance, you first identify the concepts: "resources" and "political maintenance." Then you make a statement: "If resources are used by an elite to control a group, then there will be political maintenance." This statement tells you more about political life than you have learned about the case of the Chicago police department. It tells you that anytime resources are used by an elite to control a group, it will usually promote political maintenance.

Knowledge from generalizations can help you to analyze and act in a wide variety of political situations. Think of a group you know where a small elite uses most of the resources for control of a group. Is there political maintenance? Give examples of control and maintenance below:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Now return to the script for the audio tape on Chicago. Make another generalization, this time about how resources affect political change:

Concepts: _____

_____

Generalization: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Look at the statements below and identify which are generalizations by checking the spaces where generalizations appear. Then turn this page upside down for the answers.

____ 1. Richard Daley is the Mayor of Chicago.

____ 2. The patronage system in the Chicago police department supported political maintenance in Chicago.

____ 3. When a group gains more political wealth, change is promoted.

____ 4. Elites control political life by using patronage to maintain a system.

____ 5. Orlando Wilson had more resources than Timothy O'Connor.

____ 6. If citizen's ideas about good government are violated by those in power, political change often occurs in a system.

Now think again about the Chicago case. What other generalizations can you draw which are helpful in understanding how resources generally affect maintenance and change?

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

3. _____

_____

Bring your generalizations to class for discussion.

Answers: 3, 4, and 6 are generalizations

Activity D-2: Eleven Million New Voters

Resources affect maintenance and change in different ways in elite and coalitional systems. You will listen to an audio tape on the 18-year-old vote issue in the United States. The tape shows how a coalitional system operates in maintenance and change situations. As you listen to the tape or read the transcript contained on the next few pages, think about how resources affect experiences and what generalizations you can draw about political life in coalitional systems.

Eleven Million New Voters

Setting: It is June 22, 1970. Four friends are doing volunteer work at the campaign headquarters of Jerrey Gilding. They are 17 and 18 year olds and have just graduated from high school. The primary election is next week.

Bethe: Did you see the poll in today's paper? It doesn't look good for Jerrey. I hope he gets as many votes in the primary as he did in the general election last November.

Scott: Wait till next time! Today President Nixon signed the Voting Rights Act. Next year we can vote.

Paula: There is going to be a big fight over the 18-year-old vote part of the law. It might even go to the Supreme Court.

Ruth: Let's not worry about that tonight. I feel like celebrating in honor of the new law. I can hardly wait to pull my first lever on that voting machine.

Bethe: The primary is next week. We can't vote for Jerrey then so let's do what we can. If he wins the nomination, he can run as the party's candidate. He should get more votes running with the party than he got last November as an independent. Scott who you call the people on these lists? This one is "volunteer babysitters". This one is "people who need sitters". We need to coordinate the two lists.

Scott: Isn't this the same list I called in November? I feel like a reran. Same candidate, same script, same All American kids doing their traditional bit for the candidate of their choice.

Ruth: Well somebody has to do it. We owe it to Jeremy to keep on trying. I'll call the people who need rides to the polls and match riders and drivers.

Paul: I hope all the people we drag to the polls vote for Jeremy.

Ruth: I hope so too. Come on Paul, get busy.

Paul: Okay. You've inspired me Ruth. I'll fold leaflets. Tomorrow morning I'll stuff them in mail boxes so people find them when they get the mail. If I can't get to the mailbox, I'll push them under doors.

Beth: I thought I'd take some to give out at the shopping center tomorrow.

Ruth: Good luck Beth. When I handed out leaflets there in November, people threw them on the ground or ripped them up. One person told me I was too young to know about politics. Several people told me to stick to school work and my friends.

Scott: Oh come on! Lots of people think we should be active in politics.

Paul: Sure. They think we should pass out leaflets and babysit and wave flags at rallies but not vote.

Scott: That's true. Kids have always done the kinds of things we are doing right now. I remember when my older brother was distributing Johnson buttons in '64.

Beth: My sister was a "Teenager for Nixon". She wore a straw hat and smiled at rallies.

Chip Berlet

Handing Out Leaflets

Ruth: Lots of people think 18-year-olds are too immature to vote. They are afraid we'll elect rabble rousing radicals.

Beth: But many important people think we should be able to vote. Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon all said 18-year-olds should vote. Groups as different as the NAACP and the National Business Men's Council supported giving us the vote. Of course, the Youth Franchise Coalition has been lobbying for the 18-year-old vote too.

Scott: Well now we can vote. All the different groups supporting the 18-year-old vote got together and pushed for it. We all wrote letters to our Congressmen. It worked didn't it?

Paul: Yes, finally. Why did it take so long? Did you know that almost 20 years ago a Senate Committee voted yes on an amendment to the Constitution to lower the voting age? We weren't even born 20 years ago!

Beth: What happened to that amendment?

Paul: Oh, the full Senate never considered it. I didn't think it would take 20 years for groups of people to make something happen. Remember in government class, Mrs. Stanley called it the "group process" of American government. Well it sure seems like a slow business to me.

Scott: I wonder if it was because the supporters of the 18-year-old vote didn't feel very strongly about it. Suppose the opponents of the lower voting age did have intense feelings. The supporters may have decided to humor the opponents on this not so very important issue. After all, we didn't have a vote. We couldn't vote them out of office for not helping us get the vote.

Ruth: That is a good idea Scott. I wonder what made some Senators decide to push the 18-year-old vote this year?

Beth: We'd better save that question for Professor Williams. Remember Jeremy invited him to talk about the 18-year-old vote after the TV special about President's signing the bill.

Scott: I almost forgot. We should move in some chairs and set up the TV so everyone can see. There have been several posters around town inviting people to watch the special program about the signing here at Jeremy's campaign headquarters. Anyone who is interested can stay and hear Professor Williams.

Paul: Here comes Jeremy now. That must be Professor Williams with him.

Jeremy: Hi. We came to give you a hand setting up. This is Hank Williams. Hank, meet Beth, Scott, Ruth and Paul. They are the heart of my campaign staff.

Ruth: And none of us can vote! Wait till next year!

Beth: It's time to start. Scott is going to turn on the T.V. We have a pretty good crowd.

Commentator: Good evening. Today the President signed a bill extending and amending the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He said that he favored the 18-year-old vote, but that he believed that Congress had no power to enact it by simple statute. He said it required a constitutional amendment. He signed the bill because he believes the basic provisions of this act are of great importance. He directed the Attorney General to cooperate fully in expediting a swift court test of the constitutionality of the 18-year-old vote provision.

Jeremy: Have you all had enough? Hank, why don't you start?

Williams: Okay. I'm Hank Williams. I teach American Politics at State U. I'm here to answer you questions about the President's comments or anything else concerning the 18-year-old vote.

Ruth: Why did the Senators decide to push for the 18-year-old vote at this time?

Williams: I think it was a combination of things. Lots of them have supported a lower voting age for years. They haven't been able to get Congress to vote an amendment to the Constitution. Even if Congress voted one, enough states might not ratify it. After all, states can lower the voting age within their borders anytime. Up to now, only 3 or 4 states have done it. Many senators have been upset by all the protesting young people have been involved in recently. They really believe if 18-year-olds are asked to fight wars, they should be able to vote for the leaders who make wars. Many experts think teenagers are more mature and better educated today at 18 than their parents were at 21. Still other supporters of the 18-year-old vote say youngsters are taught about politics and government in high school. They should be able to vote while their knowledge and enthusiasm is high. By the time they are 21, some young people have lost interest. So, this year some senators decided to try a new approach.

Beth: But why attach it to the Voting Rights Act? Why not a separate bill if they were afraid Congress wouldn't pass an amendment?

Williams: Does anyone have any ideas?

Paul: Was it because they were afraid it wouldn't pass as a separate bill? If they stuck it on to a bill that was important to lots of Congressmen, it might make it.

Williams: Exactly. It does concern voting! The Voting Rights Act was signed into law in 1965. It was to expire this year. Late last year a bill to extend the Act for five more years passed the House. In March, while the Senate was debating the House bill, Senator Mansfield introduced an amendment to the bill that would lower the voting age to 18 in all local, state and federal elections.

Voices: It sounds sneaky to me.

Williams: Does it sound sneaky to all of you?

Beth: Well, it sounds like good politics to me. Senator Mansfield knew the rules about amendments. He decided to use the rules to make a change he supported.

Ruth: But weren't they afraid the whole bill might get wrecked because of the controversial amendment? I mean the House might not have accepted the new part of the bill or the President might have vetoed the whole thing.

Williams: Some people were very much afraid of that. There wasn't much of a problem in the Senate. A vote to table or kill the amendment lost and the whole bill was passed easily. The problem was in the House where Representative Celler, the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, had been a very strong opponent of the 18-year-old vote for years.

Paul: What could he have done?

Williams: When a bill is introduced into the House or Senate, it is sent to a committee. The Committee can vote "yes" or "no", or it can ignore the bill. If it sends the bill to the floor after a "no" vote, the bill will probably not pass. If the committee votes yes, the bill has a good chance. When the Senate passed the Voting Rights bill it wasn't exactly the same bill the House had passed. If the House Judiciary Committee had refused to accept the Senate bill including the 18-year-old vote amendment, there would have been a Conference Committee. That means some Senators and some Representatives would meet to try to combine the two bills into one. Many people feared that if this happened the whole bill would die.

Jeremy: But hasn't Representative Celler a very strong supporter of the Voting Rights Act?

Williams: You're right Jeremy. Rather than risk ruining the whole bill, Representative Celler let the Senate bill stand and the House passed it including the 18-year-old vote.

Ruth: Wow, they sort of gambled didn't they?

Paul: Probably not. I bet they knew enough about Celler to figure out that he was more in favor of voting rights than he was against 18-year-olds voting.

Williams: I think you are right. Having information about your colleagues is really important in politics.

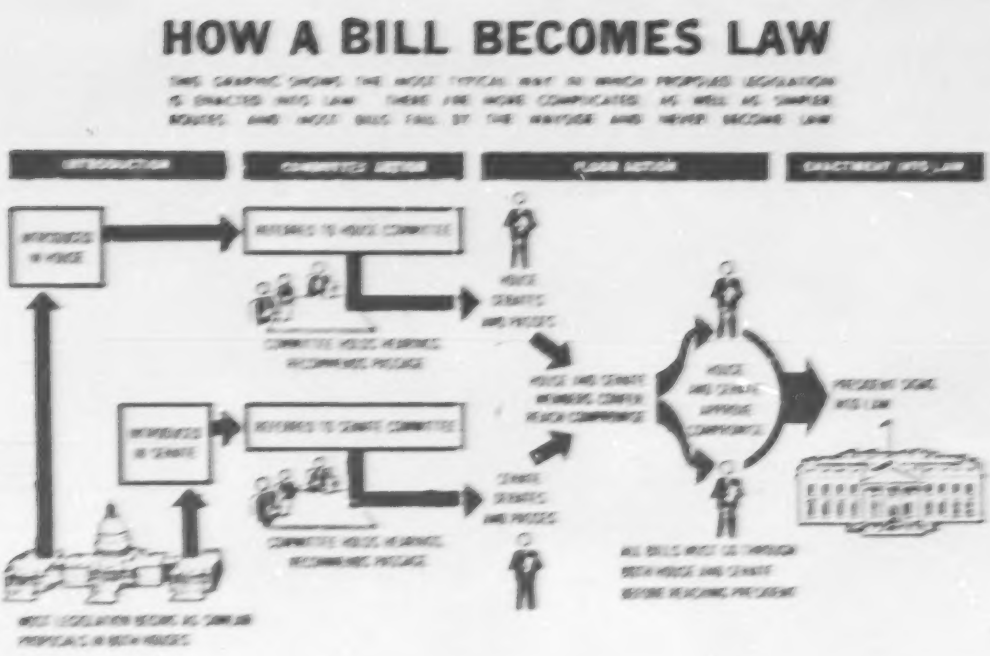
Paul: Well why didn't the President veto the bill? The Senate might have voted to override but the House might not have.

Bette: More politics I think. He can say I'm so much in favor of voting rights that I'll sign this bill even though I think part of it is unconstitutional.

Williams: That may be partly true. Of course he may also be sincere about supporting voting rights. Remember there is a provision in the law that says if the courts find the 18-year-old vote section unconstitutional, the rest of the law still stands. As he said in his speech, by signing the bill into law he makes a court test possible. If he vetoed it, some Senators might try the same plan again on another bill.

Bette: Whatever the court decides, the Voting Rights Act as a whole won't be hurt.

Williams: That's right.



Congressional Quarterly

Paul: When we were talking about politics before, I thought we should have said one reason some politicians want us to have the vote is that they think we'll vote for them. Some other politicians may be afraid to give us the vote for fear we will vote them out of office.

William: That is a good point. There is always some self-interest in what we do. Politicians aren't the only ones who think that way. Yes Jeremy?

Jeremy: Sara, could you sum up the kinds of changes you think the new law will bring about. What will it mean to have 18-year-olds voting?

Williams: I don't think we'll see any change for awhile. There is going to be a conflict over whether the law is constitutional or not. Until that is resolved things will go on pretty much as they have in the past.

Paul: Suppose the Court says yes we can vote. How would you answer Jeremy then?

Williams: You tell me what kinds of resources you think you bring to the political system.

Beth: How about numbers? There are a lot of us, about 11 million. That is a lot of votes.

Scott: We often have time to work in campaigns. Some of us enjoy it a lot.

Ruth: We also have some experience as volunteers. We can help organize a campaign.

Paul: Some of us have strong ideas about issues. We may be able to make politicians take an interest in those issues, if we can vote.

Ruth: We may be able to help younger people get elected too.

Jeremy: That sounds good, but I've been reading that all the new voters will not change anything because most of them won't vote. Those that do vote will probably not vote as a group.

Williams: All of you are correct. Some people hail the 18-year old-vote as the beginning of a new day in politics. Others say it is all sound and fury. "Young people are apathetic and lazy", some commentators say. Some studies have found 18 to 21-year-olds are more conservative than most people think. Others say many of those who want to vote won't be able to meet residency requirements because young people move around a lot.

Paul: What do you think Professor Williams?

Williams: I'm not sure. Only time will tell. It's up to you new voters anyway, not me.

Discussion Questions

1. What political resources do you find in the 18-year-old vote case? How do people use these resources?

2. Students couldn't vote before the Voting Rights Act was passed. How were political resources used to support political maintenance in this case?

3. During the period that the Act was passed, there were some basic political changes occuring involving Congreemen and the general public in the U.S. What were those changes?

4. How did political resources contribute to the changes that occurred at the time the Act was passed? How might they contribute to future changes?

5. Can you draw some generalizations about the effect of resources on political maintenance and change in coalitional systems?

6. How did resources contribute to maintenance and change in the War Powers cases you read in Unit I, the 1972 election case you read Part C of this unit, and the 18-year-old vote case? Write some generalizations below.

Activity D-3: Advocate Roles

Political experiences of maintenance and change depend a great deal on the ideas and positions of people working in political groups. Chicago could not change without people in the mayor's office and the police department having ideas about how to change corruption. The 18-year-old vote would never have been passed without people taking stands on issues. In many different political groups, maintenance and change depend on people taking these types of roles. When a person takes a stand and argues for his or her position, that person is taking an advocate role.

Advocate roles involve taking a stand, but there is more. It does no good for someone to talk to themselves. Other people are involved. A good advocate is aware of the other people he or she is trying to convince. Without their support, taking a stand has no effect on any group. Because other people are involved, bargaining becomes a key element of any advocate role. Bargaining can be defined as a political activity in which two or more individuals attempt to influence each other to support different decision alternatives. Bargaining takes at least two people who have different interests and goals and who want to reach a common decision. This does not mean that in large groups everyone must agree on a group decision, but everyone must agree to support the decision that is made in the name of the group. The achievement of this support often requires a great deal of bargaining between group members.

The difference between individual decision-making and group decision-making which includes bargaining is illustrated in the following example. Let's suppose that Joe has $500 to spend. He thinks of all the things that he could do with his $500. He could put the money into improvements on his home. He could put it in the bank toward his daughter's education. Each of these goals are important to him. Eventually, he will be able to order his goals and determine which are most important to him. He can then use the $500 to achieve his goal. As long as it is his money, he can ask advice from his wife, his children or his friends, but he alone will make the decision.

But let's suppose that Joe is also a member of the city planning board. The planning board has $500,000 to spend. In thinking about how to spend the money, Joe would like to see housing improvements made in the city's low income neighborhood. He would also like to see the money used to develop parks or other recreational facilities within the city limits. However, there are other members of the board who want to support locally-based stores and small businesses. Joe cannot make this decision himself. He needs the support of other members of the board. In order to have the money spent in the way he favors, he'll have to convince others of his position. Joe may bargain with other members by talking with them privately about the issue, offering them his support on other issues which are important to them. He may seek some compromise which includes some of his goals. In this case, Joe must bargain because one alternative must be chosen as representing the group's choice.

This is a simple situation in which it is very easy to see how bargaining enters into group decision-making. In the case of Joe's own

money, he does not have to take into consideration the opinions of others when he spends his $500. However, when he enters into a group decision where at least two people are involved in making a common choice, he needs to consider others interests and gain their support. In short, he must bargain to get his position accepted by some members of the group who hold different opinions. There are a great many more possible bargaining situations which people encounter in everyday life. The purpose of this lesson is to teach you something about bargaining so that you can be more effective contributing to the maintenance or change of any group.

Entering Into Bargaining Situations

All of us are familiar with the following kind of dialogue:

George: Let's do it.

Sam: I don't want to do it.

George: Let's do it anyway.

Sam: But I don't want to do it.

George: I'm telling you, we're going to do it.

Sam: No!

George: Yes! Or I'll get you for it.

Sam: O.K., we'll do it.

This is not good bargaining. This is coercion. It also might be called "giving in." We can all think of situations in which one person has forced another to do something that the person didn't want to do. Let's take another example:

Sue: I've told you for three weeks in a row that I don't like this play and I don't want to be Juliet. The play is dumb, even if William Shakespeare wrote it.

Mary: But we can't do the play without you! You're the best actress in the school. You should play the female lead.

Sue: Look, Mary. I want to do a play that's about people like us. One that represents how I feel as a person, not one that's centuries old.

Mary: But it's a good play. People have been watching and studying "Romeo and Juliet" since before our parents were in school. It's beautifully written, and very dramatic. It also makes social criticisms that are as important today as they were in Shakespeare's time.

Sue: I don't care. I won't play the role of some silly, romantic girl who thinks love is about flowers and serenades in the moonlight.

Mary: But we can't do the play without you. You're ruining our chance to do something interesting.

Sue: Don't do it then. Did you ever think of that? Just forget about doing any play at all.

This isn't good bargaining either. It's "holding out" so that a decision cannot be made. Neither Mary nor Sue are trying to come to a common agreement. They might as well be talking to themselves. Under these conditions, a decision will never be reached.

What, then, is good bargaining? At least part of good bargaining depends on knowing something about the group you want to influence. One thing you need to know before you can bargain effectively is <u>where other people stand</u> on an issue. What is their preference? Without basic knowledge of where other people stand, it's difficult to figure out ways that a common decision can be reached.

Another thing you need to know is something about the <u>interests</u> people have in supporting their position. Why do they take the position? There are as many possible reasons for taking a particular stand on an

issue as there are people involved. You need to be able to figure out what people's interests are so that you have some base for bargaining with them.

Look back at the dialogues between George, Sam, Sue and Mary. George didn't bother to ask Sam what it was Sam wanted to do. He forced Sam to either accept or reject his own position. If George had known what Sam's position was, he might have begun to bargain with him by arguing that his position was better than Sam's. Mary did know what Sue's position was, she wanted to do a modern play that presented life as she knew it. What Mary didn't figure out was what Sue's interests were in opposing her position. Did she want to avoid being embarrassed by playing a "dumb" role? Did she not like the person who was playing the male lead? Was it a question of a principle that old plays were bad plays? Mary ended up arguing her own position without taking Sue's views into consideration because she didn't find out the basis for Sue's opposition. Because of this, she had nothing to bargain with.

Let's take the dialogue between George and Sam and rewrite it so that George has a base to bargain effectively with Sam. First, George needs to find out where Sam stands on the issue of what to do:

George: Let's do it.

Sam: I don't want to do it.

George: What do you want to do?

Sam: I want to go to the football game.

Now, whether George wanted to go to the beach or get people together at his house or play basketball, he does know what Sam wants to do. He found out by asking Sam directly about what he wanted to do.

It is not always appropriate to ask someone directly for their position. George could also have listed enough alternatives that he could have found out Sam's preference more indirectly. What George gains is knowledge of what the alternatives are that Sam will accept. Perhaps they both like football, and the issue could be settled. If not, George would have a better idea of how to convince Sam to do something without threatening him and turning him off of their friendship. Threats work sometimes, but they tend to weaken the capacity of any group to work together in the future.

Once George knew where Sam stood, he could begin to find out Sam's interests in going to the football game as follows:

George: Let's do it.

Sam: I don't want to do it.

George: What do you want to do?

Sam: I want to go to the football game.

George: You want to see our team? The Badgers haven't won a game all season! Are you serious?

Sam: Sure I am. Mike is a good quarterback, even if the team is lousy. I like to watch him play. I just like to see someone who is good play the game.

George: O.K., but why not see someone who's really good tomorrow in the pro game. We could play basketball this afternoon and watch the pro game tomorrow.

Sam's response may not be to agree with George, but George has some base to begin bargaining with Sam. He knows that Sam wants to see a good game, and he can offer him an alternative which takes Sam's interests into consideration. In short, he has established some base for bargaining.

Some common interests people might have in any decision-making situation are listed below:

1. Getting money, information, votes
2. Supporting a friendship
3. Pursuing something enjoyable
4. Supporting ideals or principles
5. Trying to keep the group together
6. Being able to influence someone else
7. Gaining prestige or status
8. Trying to change how the group operates

Any of these interests can serve as a basis for bargaining with another person in a decision-making situation. For example, suppose Sam valued the friendship of the group that was playing basketball above other things. George might well have based his argument with him on the basis of opportunities for talking with friends and enjoying the basketball game rather than on other grounds.

These kinds of bargaining situations are very common and stretch across many different situations. Congressmen bargain for a new legislation because they are interested in support from voters. Local homeowners bargain over housing laws because they are interested in security for families. Labor unions bargain with management over increased wages because they want more money. Whether people share values or hold different ones, knowing the positions and interests people have sets a base for bargaining. It aids people in finding alternatives which can satisfy enough members of the group so that the group can make a decision.

Think about a group decision that you have been part of recently or that you think you might be part of in the near future. Sketch a dialogue

in which you can clearly identify the positions of at least two actors and the bases or interests under which bargaining could take place. Write the dialogue in the space below and bring the dialogue to class for discussion.

Different Ways of Bargaining

If you can identify the alternative positions that people in a group hold and the interests they have, then you are in a good position to begin bargaining activity. The methods you use to bargain with another person depend a great deal on the particular person or group you are working with. In some cases, you may know people in a group very well and you may try to bargain with them by seeking common ground on which you can all agree. In others, there may be strongly opposing viewpoints among group members and you may find that you need to bargain with them on different grounds using different methods. No training given in this lesson will replace your capacity to be sensitive to the type of people and the group context that you are working in. This section will attempt to outline some alternative methods and conditions under which bargaining methods can be most effectively used. It should give you some alternatives to think about as you work within any group.

Let's begin with a case study that will give you a base for understanding different methods of bargaining. Read the case carefully and think about different ways that the students might bargain in order to get their position accepted by the group.

Student Participation at West High

> The extension of the vote to 18-year-olds was having a large impact at West High. The issue had been hotly debated both in and out of class. Teachers, students and administrators had been involved in arguing its strengths and weaknesses. When the 18-year-old vote became a reality, another question began to be raised. What should people at West High do about it? Teachers felt that students badly needed more knowledge about current political issues. Students added that they felt they had very little political experience which would help them to participate in politics effectively. Administrators

were committed to the idea of increasing West High students' participation as citizens in the democratic way of life. To come to terms with the question, the principal decided to form a committee made up of teachers, students and administrators that would make some recommendations about how students' political knowledge and awareness could be increased.

The principal decided that he would represent the administrators and asked the department chairmen to find teachers willing to serve on the committee. Student representatives were to be chosen by an election run by the Student Council. About a month later, the group that came to be known as the "Committee of 18" met for the first time. The principal, seven teachers and ten students were participants. It was obvious at the first meeting that there was a lot of agreement among members of the group. Everyone wanted more emphasis on elections in social studies classes. Everyone could offer suggestions about how the Student Council could construct more realistic student elections. In addition, the committee agreed to sponsor a school project in which every student that would be able to vote in the next national or local election would have the opportunity to participate in some way in the pre-election campaigns and voter registration.

The committee was generally very satisfied with its work. Then, after four weeks of meetings, an issue arose which caused a great deal of debate and concern. Three of the students on the committee made a proposal that if students were to really learn about political participation, they needed to have some long-term experience in political settings. Therefore, since they spent most of their time in school and the school was committed to helping them gain participation experiences, they should be allowed to participate in important decisions in the school itself. They suggested adding students to curriculum committees and having student advisors on disciplinary problems. They also wanted students to participate in the planning for the school's future. After all, they said, their school was as political as any other place. So why not have <u>real</u> student participation on important issues?

The principal answered their question with a long list of reasons against student involvement: (1) It would take too much time away from students' classwork; (2) Students didn't have enough information about the issues of school administration to participate effectively; (3) The teachers and administrators already took the students' opinions into account when they made decisions; (4) Other students would resent being told what to do by students. The list was very long, and it was clear to the students that they would have an uphill fight for their idea.

As if the principal's objections weren't enough, the teachers and even some of the students were against the idea. The teachers said the students didn't know enough about the subjects that were offered to begin restructuring the curriculum. Some of the students said that other students with jobs or sports team practice wouldn't be able to participate and it wasn't fair. It would just be one more popularity contest to butter up teachers that had the students in their classes anyway. The three students were disappointed and angry over these objections.

The following week before the meeting of the Committee of 18, the three students met privately to discuss what their next move would be. The situation was complicated. They needed some way to convince just about everyone else on the committee to support their idea. On top of this, they couldn't approach the principal in the same way they would other students. What could they do? They had to do something, for they strongly believed that the future of meaningful student participation at West High was in their hands.

What could the students do? Well, it's clear that they weren't in a position to dictate a decision to the group. They also needed everyone's support before their idea would work because the members of the committee needed to make a common decision. Because of this need and the differences of opinion, it would seem that the students needed to do some bargaining.

Stop reading for a minute and think about the case. What different methods could the students use to bargain with the members of the committee? List three different ways in the space below.

1. _____

_____

_____

_____

2. _____

_____

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3. _____

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Three Ways to Bargain

Generally, there are three basic methods that people can use to bargain effectively with others. First, many people bargain by trying to convince others to support their position. They believe that their position is best and they try to find ways to change others minds so that they will support their position. When candidates make campaign speeches or people debate with one another they are using a bargaining strategy which is based on convincing others. If the students of the Committee of 18 decided to use this method with West High's principal, they would have to carefully develop their argument to meet each of the principal's objections and they would have to show how well their idea would work. He then might be convinced to support the students in regular student participation in West High's decision making.

There are actually several ways that others can become convinced of a position. Someone can demonstrate that their position supports more important goals, or is more significant, than someone else's positions.

In this case, people (like West High's principal) become convinced that their goals will be better achieved by taking the position that is being advocated.

Another way that people can be convinced of a position is if it is presented as more likely to succeed than another. Then people will support it because they want something to get done. In this way, people can be convinced of the effectiveness of a position.

They can also be convinced because they think that one position is more sound than another position. This can be because people can make more consistent arguments in favor of one position rather than another, or one argument is more logical than another. It can also be because there is more evidence to support one position over another. Each of these points are important to take into consideration when you try to convince another person of your position.

Convincing another person of your position may either be impractical or impossible in many situations. Many people will just not "buy" the reasons you give them for supporting your position. Sometimes, then, people bargain in another way. They may try to exchange support for their position for something the other person wants. This kind of trading does not result in someone agreeing with you, but in their offer to support you based on something else that you can give them. In this particular case, it becomes very important to understand the bases for bargaining so that you know what kind of trades are important to another person.

For example, Terry and Pedro may disagree about what the Science Club should do at its next meeting. Terry may know Pedro well enough to know that Pedro will never be convinced of Terry's position. Yet, Terry may know that Pedro wants very much to be the next president of the Science

Club. He might then offer to support Pedro for president in return for his support on the issue of what to do at the next Science Club meeting. He has not convinced Pedro of his position by this bargaining method, but he will get Pedro's support because of a trade he has made for something else that Pedro values.

The same method could be applied to the case of the Committee of 18. The three students might have decided to think carefully about the interests of the other students on the committee. They might have figured out a way to trade their support on other student issues for the students' support of their idea. They might also have agreed to nominate specific students who had jobs or sports obligations to certain types of school committees that could meet during the school day. The other students might not agree with them, but they would gain a lot by going along with the idea of student participation.

Neither convincing nor trading may work in some bargaining positions. Sometimes it becomes important to <u>confront</u> others who oppose your position even though you know you cannot convince them or trade something with them.

In this case, you take a stand against another person's position which may help you to gain support from others.

These people may not be entirely convinced that your position is the best one, but you may convince them that they should not support someone else's position. In this way, you may get support for your position by pointing out the negative consequences of someone else's position.

In the case of the West High committee, confrontation could have taken place if the students had chosen to confront one or more of the teachers about their position about the students' knowledge of the subject matter. They might have argued that this particular objection was unimportant. The teachers did know the subject matter best, but what was needed was a student perspective on how students would best learn those subjects. They might have argued that the best learning would occur if students had a chance to put their knowledge to use in activities in their school. They also might have threatened to boycott classes if they were not allowed to help in curriculum planning.

None of these three ways of bargaining -- convincing, trading, or confronting -- work in every decision situation. Whether or not one or more ways of bargaining are effective depends on the people involved and the situation. It depends on the interests of the person who initiates the bargaining, the interests of the person to whom the bargaining is directed, and the relationship that they hold with one another.

Convincing another person of your position often becomes more appropriate when you believe that your goals are important and you don't like other alternatives. In short, you want to maximize your own values. The effectiveness of this way of bargaining usually depends on whether or not other individuals share similar goals. If they do not generally agree with you and also want to maximize their values, then you may have to trade with them rather than convince them unless you are in some relationship with them where you have the power to convince them based on your experience or knowledge, skills or position in an organization. Convincing, then, usually fits a situation when an individual wants to maximize his or her values, when others are not in fundamental opposition to the position being advocated, and when the person has some leverage to speak from an influential position based on authority, experience or knowledge.

Trading, or exchanging something for support of your position, usually works best as a bargaining method when you are willing to give a little on your position. Instead of trying to get people to agree to support your particular position, if you are willing to compromise and develop a position that satisfies your goals even if it doesn't maximize them, then trading can be a very useful technique.

Trading can take place in several ways. First, you may agree to support some position which has some elements of the position that you favor and some that someone else favors. In this sense, you are trading your ideas for someone else's and both parties arrive at a compromise position. Second, you may get someone to support your position by offering them your support on another issue which isn't exactly the one you would hold, but doesn't violate your basic values. In this case, you will be satisfied, but the outcomes of both decisions will not be the same as they would be if you had had your own way. Finally, you might agree to trade something else -- money, prestige, etc. -- for someone's support. In this case, you have taken on some costs in order to get someone to support your position. Generally, then, trading is a good bargaining method when you are willing to give up something in order to gain someone's support.

Confronting others is a more appropriate bargaining method when you know you cannot maximize your position and you don't want the group to make a decision which will be in direct contradiction with what you believe. In this situation you are trying to minimize your losses. Usually, opposing another position will serve the purpose of eliminating it, but you will not be sure which other position will be taken by the group.

All in all, the characteristics of an effective advocate, or bargainer, can be stated as follows:

Advocate Role

1. An effective advocate knows the general feelings of people in a group about an issue.
2. An effective advocate can influence others (knows their interests and what will satisfy them).
3. An effective advocate states a clear position on an issue.
4. An effective advocate presents reasons for his/her position.
5. An effective advocate knows how and when to use various bargaining methods.

Think back to the West High case. If you were to take an advocate role in this type of situation in your school, what would you do? Write your own position on the issue and your ideas for using different bargaining methods in the space below.

Your Position: _____

_____

_____

Convince Method: _____

_____

_____

Trade Method: _____

_____

_____

Confront Method: _____

_____

_____

In class you will participate in a role-play exercise called "Taking A Stand." You will have an opportunity to practice playing an advocate role based on the West High situation. Your teacher will supply you with all materials needed to participate. Be sure you are familiar with the West High case and that you have thought carefully about how you might play a successful advocate role.

Part E: Political Development and Conflict

Activity E-1: Who Runs the Chicago Police Department: Part Two

You have seen how political resources affect maintenance and change in elite systems such as Chicago. Below is a list of generalizations about these effects.

Political Maintenance in Elite Systems

1. When elites use resources to control a system, they promote political maintenance.

   Example: patronage in Chicago

2. When elites can accumulate political wealth to further the goals of a group in a system they promote political maintenance.

   Example: party contributions in Chicago

3. When elites use their position or status to serve the interests of other important political sub-groups in the system, they promote political maintenance.

   Example: Daley's alliances with labor, business and the Democratic party

4. When ideas of elites become generally accepted by the group, they promote political maintenance.

   Example: the general acceptance of police bribes in Chicago

Political maintenance is promoted when elites use their resources to control a system such as Chicago. However, there can be cracks in the control from the inside. New groups can also come into the system with new ideas and resources. If this happens, political change can be promoted.

The following set of generalizations demonstrates some ways that resources affect political change:

Political Change in Elite Systems

1. When elites fail to control information in a system and group members disagree about policies, then political change can occur.

   Example: The Summerdale Scandals

2. When new leaders join the elite group, then they can use their status to promote political change.

   Example: hiring Orlando Wilson

3. When wealth is shifted from one activity to another by an elite, political change is promoted.

   Example: Daley's promise to give Wilson the money he needed to reform the police department

Resources also affect other political experiences. Resources can be used to promote political conflict or development. The following pages contain Part Two of the audio tape about the Chicago police department. Listen to the tape or read the script and determine how resources affect these experiences. Think of some generalizations about conflict and development in elite political systems. Then answer the discussion questions at the end of the script.

Who Runs the Chicago Police Department

Part Two

Jack and Marsha Rhodes and Gerald and Sandy Grimes have spent a lot of time together since Jack and Marsha moved to Chicago in January 1960. They have been active in Chicago politics and have followed the career of Superintendent of Police, Orlando W. Wilson with great interest. Although he retired in May 1967, the impact he had on the Chicago Police Department and the city itself is still a topic of conversation. It's early in August 1968 and the two couples are on their way to Fox Lake to spend the weekend.

Marsha: It's going to be beautiful at the lake this weekend. I'll be happy to get out of the city for awhile.

Jack: That's for sure. I wish we could stay up at the cottage all summer.

Sandy: Wouldn't that be great! Just imagine -- three whole months without hearing anything about Mayor Daley!

Gerald: Remember all the hubbub about the appointment of Wilson as police superintendent when you two first moved here? He sure shook things up.

Sandy: Well, things needed shaking up. The police department was just falling apart the way things were. It's good that Wilson followed up his promises with action.

Marsha: He really man-handled the Democratic ward bosses, didn't he? They were furious when he redrew the police district lines. Then every ward boss didn't have his own police commander.

Jack: They were even more upset when he stripped them of their influence over which policemen were promoted and which were fired. After all, that was how the ward bosses kept control of the police department.

Gerald: Right. Do you realize that there hadn't been a promotion examination since 1948? Wilson made it possible for policemen to advance without having to cozy up to a politician.

Orlando Wilfield Wils
(Chicago Tribune Phot

Jack: What's even more important, he made sure that the police department kept control of exams. The old civil service board had become a tool of the politicians because it's members were appointed.

Sandy: Well, I'll betcha there's still lots of corruption. A policeman doesn't have to be beholden to a politician to be crooked. Maybe he just needs the money.

Marsha: That's true. There's some corruption just about everywhere. But when the Democratic machine ran the police department it was hard for an honest cop to stay honest. At the very least Wilson made that easier. For one thing, he made it harder for someone to offer a bribe. Remember when he ordered that any citizen who offered a policeman a bribe was to be arrested immediately?

Gerald: Yeah! People thought twice about clipping money to their driver's license after that. I suppose even big crooks were not as open about trying to bribe a cop.

Jack: He also raised wages and created more top administration jobs. That meant that policemen were making more money and had a greater stake in the police department.

Marsha: Right, and another important thing was the training he provided. He tried to create a group of professionals, not a bunch of guys that sat around and took pay-offs. That's a morale booster.

Sandy: I guess a lot of the things he did were to make Chicago policemen proud to be Chicago policemen. But some of it sure cost a lot money, the new squad cars, the remodeling of the police department, and, especially, the new computer.

Marsha: Well, the computer may have cost a lot, but it's worth it to me. It means that they can dispatch a car a lot faster. The computer keeps track of all patrol cars and knows instantly which one is closest to the call. I remember once I called the police when I saw someone break in to our neighbor's house. With the new system, they got there before the thief even got out of the house. In the old days, it could have taken hours.

Jack: I'm sure that's one of the reasons that Wilson has gotten so much support from the public in Chicago. They like the new efficiency as well as the independence from politicians. You know, it was a small thing, but a lot of people were impresssed when Wilson moved his office from City Hall to the Police Department. I doubt if he could have done all that he did without public support.

Gerald: That may be true, but Wilson also got support from Mayor Daley. Daley kept the ward bosses from making too many waves, and he made sure Wilson got the money he needed for his reforms.

Jack: Sure, but the Mayor I think got more than he bargained for. The ward bosses lost their influence over the police, but so did he in many ways. Wilson got his independence and Daley couldn't interfere. Public support made it nearly impossible for Daley to dump him after the first three year contract.

Wilson set up the department so that each person in the chain of command had specific duties and was responsible to a specific person, and he was on top. That made it even more difficult for the machine politicians to interfere. The Mayor was still the boss, but he had to go through the Superintendent of Police if he wanted to change anything in the Police Department.

Sandy: That really drove Daley up the wall during the 1966 civil rights marches. My cousin Bernie worked in the Mayor's office then, and he'd call every day to fill me in on what Daley was doing.

Gerald: Yeah, we went on some of the marches during the summer. Remember when hundreds of people sat in the Loop during rush hour? The commuters were angry, but the policemen were very calm. They didn't bash heads or anything. Those that were arrested were just quietly put in paddy wagons.

Sandy: Bernie said that Superintendent Wilson had ordered the use of minimum force. He understood the press and knew that any unnecessary violence by the police would look bad.

Marsha: Besides, he really believed that a calm peaceful approach would keep the marches from getting out of hand.

Sandy: That's true. But even though that was the sensible way to approach the marches, Mayor Daley was furious. Bernie says he would curse Wilson and pound his desk. He wanted tough action because the marchers were disrupting his city. He would have loved to get rid of Wilson, but by 1966 Wilson had become a kind of public institution. Daley had to wait for him to retire.

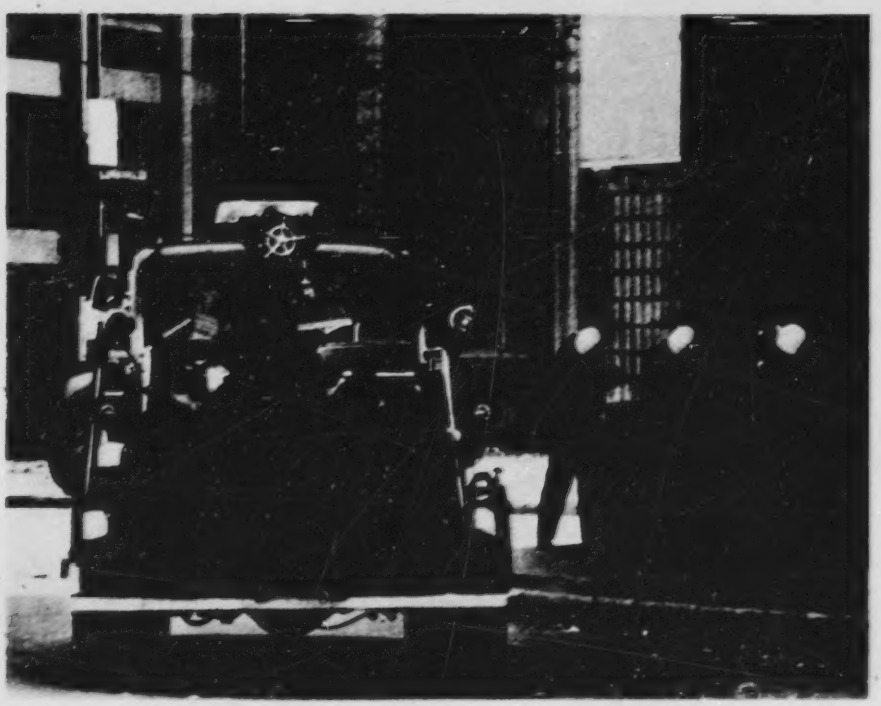
Gerald: It's too bad that Wilson did retire. I've heard rumors that Daley was trying to force him out, but, after all, he was 67 years old.

Jack: Yeah, and when he took the job in 1960, he was about ready to retire from Berkeley. Besides you could still see his influence during the trouble this spring.

Marsha: Yeah. Martin Luther King's death was a tragedy, and the West Side riots that followed it were even more tragic. But I heard a lot of reports that the police reacted very well.

Jack: A lot of the people involved at first were school children. If the police would have tried to use guns to put down the riot, there would have been a terrible blood bath. As it was, they did a good job of keeping it contained and of protecting the firemen who had to go in and fight fires set by arsonists.

Sandy: That's what makes it so hard to figure out why Daley said what he did about the action of James Conlisk, Wilson's successor. Just listen to what he said at a press conference during the riots.



Chicago Tribune Photo

Policemen Return Sniper Fire

"I have conferred with the Superintendent of Police this morning and I gave him the following instructions. I said to him very emphatically and very definitely that an order be issued by him immediately and under his signature to shoot to kill any arsonist or anyone with a Molotov cocktail in his hand in Chicago, because they're potential murderers, and to issue a police order to shoot to maim or cripple anyone looting any stores in our city."

Gerald: Just like in '66, Daley was furious that Conlisk hadn't acted more firmly and issued such a "shoot to kill order" on his own.

Sandy: Right. He goes on.

"In my opinion, policemen should have had instructions to shoot arsonists and looters. I assumed the instructions were given, but the instructions to the policemen were to use their own judgement. I assumed any superintendent would issue instructions to shoot arsonists on sight and to maim the looters, but I found out this morning this wasn't so; and, therefore, I gave him specific instructions."

Marsha: Well, you know why Conlisk hadn't issued a "shoot-to-kill order" don't you? In may '67 Wilson issued an order forbidding the firing of weapons during a riot. He had gone to considerable lengths to train Chicago policemen in other methods of riot control. Conlisk himself was trained by Wilson and chosen by him to be his successor.

Gerald: It just shows that even if Conlisk isn't as strong willed as Wilson was, things are basically different than they were in 1960 when Wilson took over as Superintendent of Police.

Jack: Now the Mayor's control of the police department is only as strong as his control over the superintendent, instead of the Democratic machine controlling individual patrolmen and commanders.

Marsha: Ha! It's funny to think of the great Mayor Daley having to go through channels just like an ordinary citizen.

Sandy: Well, we're here.

Gerald: Let's not think of Mayor Daley or the city of Chicago for two whole days.

Discussion Questions

1. What political resources do you find in this case? How are the resources being used?

2. When Wilson took over the police department, there were many changes in the department and how it related to Chicago politics. List some of the changes.

3. How did the use of political resources affect these changes? State some generalizations and examples.

4. The hiring of Wilson and the reform of the police department generally promoted political development in Chicago politics. What can you say about the affect of resources on political development in this case?

5. Wilson's actions promoted a conflict with Daley and the Chicago machine. What are some examples of the conflict?

6. How did political resources affect conflict in this case? State some generalizations.

Activity E-2: Eleven Million New Voters: Part Two

In elite systems, political experiences can be demonstrably affected by changes in political resources. Coalitional systems also undergo maintenance, change, development and conflict. In Activity D-2, you learned how resources affect maintenance and change in coalitional systems. A summary of some generalizations about maintenance and change are listed below:

Maintenance in Coalitional Systems

1. When information is spread out and no one group has information to share about issues, then maintenance is promoted in a coalitional system.

   Example: apathy over the voting issue

2. When existing established interest groups have high priority interests or ideas, then a maintenance experience is promoted.

   Example: standard foreign and domestic policy issues higher priority than 18-year-old vote for established parites

3. When there is no group of dominant status or wealth to back a new issue, a maintenance experience is promoted.

   Example: little Congressional or interest group backing for new voters

4. When the process of bargaining is complex and crosses many different groups, maintenance tends to be promoted.

   Example: the amendment question in the 18-year-old vote

Maintenance in coalitional systems is promoted when there are stable groups with well-defined interests. Information about issues is spread across groups so that no group dominates others. Finally, if the process of gaining a majority is complex, then issues tend to be lost in the

bargaining process and rarely become important enough to promote major structural changes in the system.

Two things tend to promote maintenance: lack of dominance of one established group and spreading out of information and negotiations. Changes in these two variables tend to promote changes in the system as a whole. In the case of the 18-year-old vote, there would be eleven million new participants in the political process. The system would operate largely in the same way, but new ideas and support would come from a new youth vote. Some of the ways resources affected this change in political participation can be summarized below:

Change in Coalitional Systems

1. When the interests or ideas of an established group converge with new interests, then political change tends to be promoted.

   Example: Voting Rights Act includes 18-year-old vote

2. When new groups are formed with enough wealth to make an impact, then political change tends to be promoted.

   Example: 18-year-olds actions in armed services, campaigns, wealth is in numbers

3. When some group with established status tends to promote an issue, political change can occur.

   Example: Mansfield's interest in the rider for the 18-year-old vote

In each of these cases, change is promoted because new groups are formed or established groups find it in their interest to promote a change.

Comparing Political Experiences

You have seen how maintenance and change occur in both elite and coalitional systems. In some ways, resources affect experiences in the

two systems in similar ways. In both types of systems, for example changes often include shifts of political wealth to new groups. They are also different in many ways. Political information must be concentrated to maintain an elite system. It must be shared broadly to maintain a coalitional system.

Both comparisons and generalizations are important to the analysis of political systems. Generalizations allow you to expand your knowledge to include many political groups you act in everyday. Comparisons allow you to find out where some generalizations apply and where they do not. Both these tools will help you to understand and act in political life.

You have learned three steps for making a comparison. They can be summarized here:

1. To determine what it is you are comparing. Utilize concepts to identify points of comparison.
2. To make sure the objects or events you are comparing are really comparable. Look at the same concept for each case and identify similarities and differences.
3. To determine the significance of the comparison. Identify the consequences or impact of the object or event on the system as a whole.

In this case, you have thought about how five concepts -- wealth, status, ideas, skills, and information -- are related to, or affect, two other concepts -- political maintenance and change. These concepts should form the basis of a comparison of how resources effect experiences in the two types of systems.

Look at the Chicago and U.S. cases from Part D. Parts of the cases are reprinted here. What concepts can be used as the base of comparison of how resources affect political maintenance and change? List the concepts in the spaces provided.

Who Runs the Chicago Police Department - Part One

Jack: From what we've read about the recent scandals, I assume the police are controlled by Daley's machine too.

Gerald: You'd better believe it. Even before Daley became mayor in '55, the Democratic machine ran the police department. And he's sure kept his hand in. The police commissioners's office is at City Hall, not at the Police Department. In fact, the commissioner has no control over the police. The top guys are seven old assistant commissioners who were appointed by Daley because of their political connections. If a politician wants a policeman transferred or promoted, he calls one of those guys.

Sandy: The ward bosses keep their fingers in it too. The boundaries of most of the police districts are the same as the wards, so a ward boss usually gets to pick the police commander for his district.

Eleven Million New Voters

Beth: It's time to start. Scott is going to turn on the T.V. We have a pretty good crowd.

President: My Fellow Americans, Congress completed action on a bill extending and amending the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and sent it to me for signature. Although I strongly favor the 18-year-old vote, I believe that Congress has no power to enact it by simple statute, but rather it requires a constitutional amendment. Because the basic provisions of this act are of great importance, I am giving it my approval. I have today signed the bill. I have directed the Attorney General to cooperate fully in expediting a swift court test of the constitutionality of the 18-year-old vote provision.

Concepts which could form the basis of a comparison:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

In both of these cases, status is a resource that effects political maintenance. Gerald talks about Daley's control of the police department. The President speaks of the necessity for the Supreme Court to judge the constitutionality of the 18-year-old vote provision. In both cases status affects political maintenance. The Daley machine used the status of the mayor's office to control the police and maintain the elite system in Chicago. The President, the Congress and the Court all have a status or position to play in the 18-year-old vote question. No one group can decide the issues by itself. The U.S. coalitional system is maintained because of this equality of status, or checks and balances system.

In the above analysis, similarities and differences can be stated. This is the second step in making a comparison. Both cases are similar because status affects political maintenance. Both are different because unequal status promotes maintenance in the Chicago case and equal status promotes maintenance in the voting rights case.

There are two generalizations that could be formed here:

1. In elite systems, status inequality promotes political maintenance.
2. In coalitional systems, status equality promotes political maintenance.

These generalizations are both useful and significant. They have consequences for a system. If status inequality decreases in an elite system and more people can use their status to participate in politics, an elite may lose control and the entire system will change. This certainly began to happen when Wilson took office in Chicago. Therefore, the comparison is a useful one because it enables people to see important or significant consequences of resources on an elite system.

Determining the significance of a comparison is the third step in making any comparison. Look at the generalization on the previous page about coalitional systems. Is it significant? Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

The second part of the audio tape "Eleven Million New Voters" is contained on the next few pages. It illustrates how resources affect political development and conflict in coalitional systems. As you listen to the tape or read the script, think about comparisons and generalizations you can make about how resources affect the political experiences of development and conflict in Chicago and the voting rights case.

Eleven Million New Voters
Part II

It is late on election night November 1972. The four friends of Scene I are gathered once again at campaign headquarters.

Beth: That was some party! What a mess the place is!

Paul: Come on Beth, sit down and have a glass of not-so-cold punch. We'll clean up in the morning.

Scott: Am I tired! What a change from all our other election nights! Three years ago Jeremy lost his race for city council. Then he lost in the primary in the spring. Tonight he is a Congressman.

Chip Berlet

New Voter is Convention Delegate

Ruth: Let's hear it for the 18-year-old vote!

Paul: It sure looks like we influenced this race anyway. By the way, where is our Congressman now?

Beth: Oh, a camera crew and some reporters dragged him off to do interviews. He asked us to wait for him here.

Scott: Remember when President Nixon signed the Voting Rights Act. What a lot has happened since then.

Ruth: First there was a court test of the law. It was an interesting conflict, wasn't it? The Attorney General sent letters to all 50 states right after the President signed the bill into law in June 1970. He told them to write the Justice Department explaining how they planned to register 18-year-olds. Some states like Texas, Arizona, Idaho and Oregon said they would not enforce the 18-year-old vote part of the Voting Rights Act. So the Justice Department sued them and the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case.

Beth: Wait a minute. I've never understood how the case went right to the Supreme Court. Don't cases go to lower courts first?

Scott: Yes, they do. But law suits between the federal government and states go directly to the Supreme Court.

Beth: I see. Well, how come the Court heard the case so fast? I've always thought it took months or years for the Court to hear a case.

Ruth: Sometimes it does. This time the Justice Department asked the Court to hear the case right away because the law was supposed to go into effect January 1, 1971. The Court agreed the matter was urgent. They held hearings in October and decided in December.

Paul: How could the Justice Department argue for a law the President himself thought was unconstitutional.

Scott: Lawyers must often argue cases they don't believe in. Once the law was signed the Executive branch was supposed to enforce it. By trying to enforce it, they helped set up a test case in court which was exactly what the President wanted to do.

Ruth: While they were arguing the case before the Court, the Justice Department lawyers did point out that they had advised Congress not to pass the law. They felt it was unconstitutional.

Beth: Didn't anyone who really supported the law participate in the Court case?

Ruth: Oh yes. Some very famous professors of law told the Court they felt the law was constitutional. They listed earlier Court decisions called precedents which made them think it was constitutional to add the 18 year old vote provision to the Voting Rights Act.

Paul: It was a complicated conflict. There were two kinds of arguments. First there were the people who were opposed to lowering the age limit at all versus those people who wanted to lower it to 18. There was a separate conflict among the people who wanted to lower the voting age about how it should be done. Some wanted an amendment, others supported a separate law, and still others thought adding the lower voting age amendment to the Voting Rights Bill was the best course of action.

Beth: This reminds me of the tape Ruth played us once. Is it still around Ruth?

Ruth: Sure it's here in the office. Want to hear it while we wait for Jeremy?

Scott: Why not?

Paul: It's okay with me.

Ruth: Remember the first person who talks is a Congressman from Minnesota. What we hear is part of a speech he gave a couple of years ago. The other speeches are parts of testimony that was given to a Senate Committee.

Tape recorder goes on

Representative Chamberlain: Are there any under 21 who might cast a reasonable vote: Who are able to penetrate the demogogue's glitter, who are able to sort out fact from fiction? There are some. There are also many over 21 who cannot. Any age we set is arbitrary. We must make it one which most reasonably reflects the age of responsibility. Mark Twain said: "When I was a young lad of 17, my father, in my opinion, was the most stupid man I have ever met. Now that I am 21, I am surprised as to how much the old man has learned in the past four years." In my opinion, the case of the proponents for change is not proved."

Assistant Attn. Gen. Rehnquist: The Department of Justice reaffirms support of a constitutional amendment to lower the voting age to 18. It opposes the enactment of a statute for several reasons. The constitutionality of such a statute would be open to the most serious doubt. Doubt about the validity of the statute could create confusion and uncertainity as to the outcome of a presidential election. The amending process, with its requirements of extraordinary majorities both in Congress and among the adopting states is better suited than a statute to manifest the necessary consensus for the proposal in question.

Senator Goldwater: I support extending the vote to young citizens because I know it is right. Young Americans can raise families, hold jobs, be taxed, be tried in adult courts and be trusted on the public highways; and, yet they are not allowed to vote. Youth today is better informed than any previous generation. I hold that there is no sensible reason for denying the vote to 18-year-olds. The main argument I have heard against the proposal is that young persons are not mature enough. They are said to be too rebellious and militant. This kind of reasoning is nonsense. Endless exposure of the extremist tactics used by a piddling few of our young Americans prejudices the judgment of many of their olders. Some people say 18-year-olds are too idealistic. I want to say this is exactly what we need more of in this country. To my mind the change can validly be achieved by a constitutional amendment or a statute. But we should not toss the age issue into the voting rights struggle. We still need to hear the ring of clashing viewpoints that will help us refine the strongest legal argument for our cause. Therefore, I, along with others, seek to lower the voting age by means of a separate bill which can be considered on its merits.

Senator Kennedy: I believe the time has come to lower the voting age and to bring American youth into the main stream of the political process. A large number of senators have expressed their support for federal action to lower the voting age. The most obvious method of federal action is by amending the Constitution, but it is not the only method. I believe Congress has the authority to act in this area by statute. Ideally, it would be appropriate to incorporate the proposal as an Amendment to the Voting Rights Bill as Senator Mansfield has proposed. The Bill proposes a nationwide ban on use of state literacy tests and proposes to reduce state residence requirements. If Congress has the authority to act by statute in these area, then Congress also has the authority to act by statute to lower the voting age to 18.

Scott: That tape is really neat. All the speakers are so persuasive. Being a good speaker really helps in politics doesn't it? Each one really makes you feel he wants to do what's best for the country.

Beth: But they disagree on what the best thing is! They even argue about what is or isn't constitutional.

Paul: I think the disagreement among the three men who supported the 18 year old vote is very revealing. It sounds like a conflict about how to proceed, but the way each one wants to get the lower voting age shows how much he really wants it.

Ruth: That is interesting Paul. Rehnquist pushed for an amendment which hasn't made it through Congress in 20 years of trying. He probably doesn't care if it takes another 20 or even 40 years.

Scott: And Goldwater wanted a separate law. Did he really think Congress would pass one in the near future?

Ruth: Well, a law only needs a majority vote in the House and Senate unlike an amendment which needs a 2/3 vote in each chamber. I think a law would have passed the Senate.

Beth: Do you think it would have passed the House too? Remember what Professor Williams told us about Congressmen Celler, the Chairman of House Judiciary Committee, being so opposed to the 18-year-old vote. I bet that bill would have been killed by the Judiciary Committee.

Paul: Goldwater and Rehnquist were saying they favored the 18 year old vote. But they were suggesting strategies which they must have known would fail to get the voting age lowered any time soon.

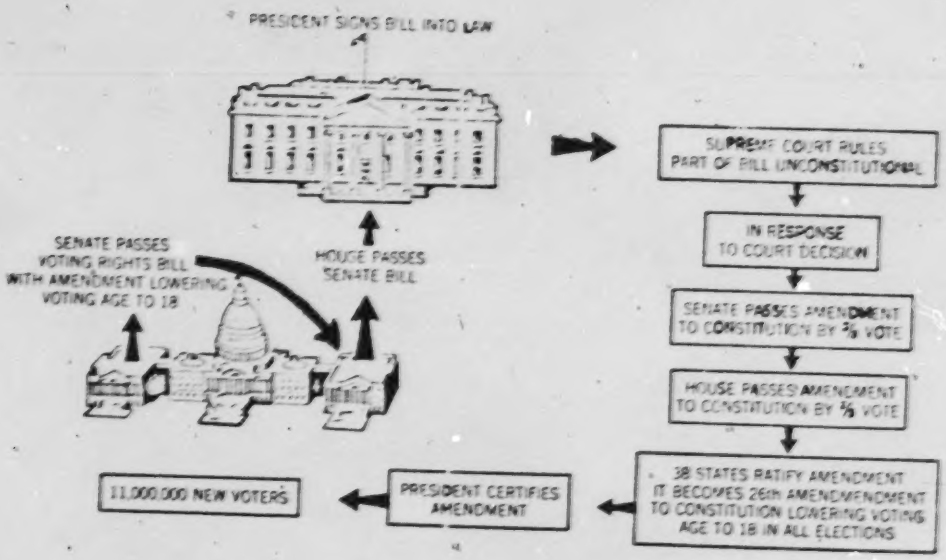
Ruth: I suppose that is a common way for politicians to act. Senator Kennedy didn't do that. He wanted the 18-year-old vote as soon as possible. He was willing to join with Senator Mansfield to try a new plan.

Scott: And it worked!

Beth: Did it? After all the Court ruled that only the part of the bill giving us the vote in federal elections was constitutional. They ruled that only the states could determine the voting age in state and local elections.

Paul: It was a wild decision. The vote was 5 to 4 and the 9 judges wrote 5 different opinions. It didn't solve the conflict at all. It only made things more confusing then ever.

Ruth: But something good did come out of the conflict. The Court decided in December. In March both Houses of Congress passed a constitutional amendment lowering the voting age to 18. Minnesota ratified the Amendment the same day it passed. By the end of June, Ohio ratified it. That made the 38th state. Since 3/4 of all the states had ratified, the 26th Amendment became part of the Constitution.


PRESIDENT SIGNS BILL INTO LAW
SUPREME COURT RULES PART OF BILL UNCONSTITUTIONAL
IN RESPONSE TO COURT DECISION
SENATE PASSES AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION BY ⅔ VOTE
HOUSE PASSES AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION BY ⅔ VOTE
38 STATES RATIFY AMENDMENT IT BECOMES 26th AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION LOWERING VOTING AGE TO 18 IN ALL ELECTIONS
PRESIDENT CERTIFIES AMENDMENT
11,000,000 NEW VOTERS
SENATE PASSES VOTING RIGHTS BILL WITH AMENDMENT LOWERING VOTING AGE TO 18
HOUSE PASSES SENATE BILL

The 18-Year-Old Vote: A Summary

Scott: And we could vote in all elections! So you see the Mansfield amendment did succeed. It triggered the passage of a new Constitutional Amendment in the shortest time ever in our history.

Paul: We finally got a chance to influence the political system. We could try to open up politics, to have more people participate.

Beth: We did make a difference too. Congressman Celler must have been surprised last June when Elizabeth Holtzman defeated him in the primary.

Ruth: I'm sure he was. After all he had been in Congress over 50 years, longer than any other Congressman.

Scott: And he was 84 while Elizabeth Holtzman was only 30. Age was a major issue in the campaign.

Paul: That's true. Age was an issue, but Holtzman got lots of support from older voters who decided it was time for a younger person to represent them. I remember Jeremy saying after her primary victory that there weren't all that many new young voters in her district.

Beth: I'm not saying we can elect a candidate on our own. Just the 18 to 20-year-old voters couldn't have elected Jeremy. But if we join with older voters who support candidates we like too, we can influence elections.

Paul: I agree Beth. Now we have a chance to help elect more younger candidates, people who understand us.

World Wide Photo

Holtzman and Supporters

Ruth: Politicians will have to listen to us. There are a lot of us. Even if all 11 million of us don't agree on issues or even vote, 2 or 3 million is a lot of people.

Scott: The next time we favor an issue, it shouldn't take 20 years to get it through Congress.

Beth: They will need our votes. Letting more people participate by voting changes the system doesn't it? In a way I think it makes it more democratic. I can't see how anyone could object to that.

Paul: Ask ex-Congressman Celler! Speaking of Congressmen, here comes Jeremy.

Jeremy: What have you been up too? You all look so serious.

Scott: Oh we've been making a list of all the laws we want you to pass if you want our votes in 74.

Ruth: Oh come on Scott. I think we're getting silly. We've been hashing over the events that led to this night Jeremy.

Jeremy: It's been great hasn't it. Let's go to my place now. It's almost morning. We'll make an early breakfast and catch the news. I'm on the Today Show. I'm an example of how the young voters are changing our political system.

Discussion Questions

1. What political resources do you find in this case? How are the resources being used?

2. Several Congressmen took opposing sides in the 18-year-old vote issue. What were some basic contradictions in their ideas which promoted conflict?

3. How did political resources affect conflict in this case?

4. The 18-year-old vote promotes more participation in the U.S. system. The results of the passage of the amendment illustrate political development. Give some examples of how the case provides an illustration of this political experience.

5. How did political resources affect development in this case?

6. What are some comparisons you can make about development and conflict in elite and coalitional systems?

What concepts would you use as a base for comparison?

What generalizations can you make about similarities and differences in the two cases?

Are these comparisons significant? Why?

Activity E-3: Taking Advocate Roles in Your School

You have seen how resources affect political change, maintenance, development and conflict in different political systems. Decisions about how resources are distributed often depend upon people who take a stand on an issue. Advocates often use resources like status or knowledge to influence others about an issue. If they gain support for their position and a decision is made in their favor, they can also influence the kind of experience a political group will have.

In this activity, you will apply what you have learned about taking advocate roles by actually participating in a political group. The group should be one in your school, if possible. Otherwise community or work groups can also serve as sites for your participation. Think about groups (formal or informal) where you are a regular member. List two or three groups in which you might be able to practice taking an advocate role. Write the names of these groups in the space below:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Now think of some of the issues that normally come before the group and positions you might take on the issues. They need not be major issues with a lot of opinions presented, just issues which require some kind of decision. List the possible issues and stands you could take below:

1. _____

_____

_____

2. _____

_____

_____

3. _____

_____

_____

In class you will discuss how you will carry out this activity. You will need to do two things: 1) play an advocate role in some group situation; and 2) serve as an observer of one other person playing an advocate role. When you are serving as an observer, you will use the observer record on the next page. Study the record. You will discuss the record and other aspects of this activity in class.

Observer: _____
Advocate: _____
Group: _____
Date: _____

OBSERVER RECORD: ADVOCATE ROLES

Use this record to describe what the advocate does during the group meeting and to offer suggestions about how he/she might have acted more effectively. Discuss your observations with the advocate after the meeting. Save this record for class discussion.

1. What is the issue being discussed in this group?

_____

_____

2. What is the position of the advocate on the issue?

_____

_____

3. Does the advocate seem to know the general feelings of the people in the group about the issue? What makes you say "yes" or "no"?

_____

_____

_____

4. Does the advocate know the interests of others and what will satisfy them? What makes you say "yes" or "no"?

_____

_____

_____

5. Is the advocate clearly stating his/her position? Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

6. Is the advocate giving reasons for his/her position? Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

7. What bargaining methods is the advocate using?

_____ Convince _____ Trade _____ Confront

8. Is the advocate using bargaining methods successfully? Why or why not?

_____

_____

_____

9. What suggestions do you have for improvement on the performance of the advocate? Try to be specific.

_____

_____

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_____

Part F: Future Political Systems

Activity F-1: Forecasting Alternative Futures

You have seen how both Chicago and the U.S. have experienced maintenance, change, development and conflict. You have also made comparisons and generalizations about how resources affect the experiences of elite and coalitional systems. This type of analysis aids in understanding what has happened in the past in a political system.

An equally important set of questions focus on what will happen to political systems in the future. Will Daley continue to dominate Chicago politics? Will the 18-year-old vote make a difference in U.S. national politics? We are continuously asking these types of questions.

To be able to analyze possible futures requires that we move beyond traditional time lines and engage in forecasting. Forecasting is a valuable skill which is important to all planners. If a political system is elite in 1970, what will it look like in 1980? Forecasting helps us to explore alternative answers to such a question.

Forecasting involves three basic steps:

STEPS IN FORECASTING

1. Identifying a trend in the political experience of one or more political units.
2. Projecting alternative future events in the political experiences of one or more political units.
3. Determining the likelihood of alternative events.

The first step in forecasting is one you have just completed when you draw generalizations about political experiences. In drawing a generalization, you establish a trend in the political experience of one or more political

units. For example, you know that in the Chicago Police Department, development is occurring because leadership and participation patterns are changing. The question becomes, what will the Chicago Police Department do in the future? How will its actions affect politics in Chicago as a whole?

Answering these questions involves probing into future possibilities. One clear alternative in this case is that Chicago will continue developing from an elite to a more bureaucratic system. If leadership and participation patterns continue their trend this would certainly be the case. This kind of forecast extends the present trend which has been identified.

However, there are rival futures which could be projected. Daley could take over control of the police directly as it seems he has tried to do with Conlisk. This could well narrow participation in Chicago's decisions generally and move the organization back to a more elite format. This would be a case in which present trends would be reversed. This is a directly opposite forecast from the first.

Still a third forecast might be that new groups would emerge in Chicago with real strength to challenge Daley. In this case, Daley might have to cope with a more coalitional system. In this case Chicago would move in an entirely new course than it has in the past.

These are three possible alternative forecasts of many which could be stated for Chicago based on the cases you have read. These forecasts might also apply to other nations, communities, or organizations whose trends are like those of Chicago. With different concrete circumstances, the forecasts for the U.S. or Woodlawn might be to extend their trend, to reverse their trend, or to move in an entirely different course.

The case below illustrates maintenance and change in a coalitional system: The United Nations. Read the case and perform the first two steps of forecasting: (1) draw generalizations about how political resources affect maintenance and change and (2) project some possible alternative future events for the U.N.

The UN General Assembly and the Developing Nations

When World War II ended in 1945, fifty-one victorious nations met in San Francisco, California to create the United Nations. They had witnessed two terrible wars in the past 30 years, and they were determined to prevent a third one. Its founders wanted the UN to be a body open to all nations that would abide by the charter. This way, they hoped, international disputes could be solved without war.

The UN Charter places the primary responsibility for keeping the peace in two bodies, the Security Council and the General Assembly. The Security Council investigates possible threats to peace, can call on member nations to impose economic sanctions, and can take military action against an aggressor, if necessary. The General Assembly may also recommend action to settle international disputes, but it may not act on any issue which the Security Council is considering.

Throughout the UN's thirty year history, the Security Council's actions have often been limited by the veto power of its five permanent members -- China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States. A negative vote by any one of these countries defeats a measure. Ten additional Security Council members, elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms, have no veto power.

The UN General Assembly is composed of representatives from all member nations. No country has a veto in the Assembly. The largest country and the smallest, the richest and the poorest, all have one vote. Important matters, such as the admission or expulsion of members, budgetary questions and recommendations for peace keeping actions, require a two-thirds majority of members voting. All other questions need only a simple majority.

The need for a 2/3 majority on important questions means that nations with similar interests have to cooperate in order to win the necessary votes. It is common for such nations to form coalitions or "blocs." For several years after the founding of the UN, the Western bloc, led by the United States, dominated the General Assembly. But in the mid-1950's many East European countries joined the United Nations. Soon the Soviet bloc, led by the USSR, was able to muster the necessary majority in the General Assembly.

The dominance of the Soviet bloc, however, was short-lived. In 1960, seventeen nations were admitted to the UN. Sixteen of them were former African colonies. This began a dramatic shift in the power balance and the priorities of the General Assembly. Before 1960 the UN was primarily concerned with the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. The new members of the 1960's and 1970's had different interests--economic development, human rights and, especially, decolonialization. As former colonies, they wanted the UN to take a more active role in gaining independence for all colonies.

The General Assembly had always shown concern for the fate of colonies. After the war it assumed responsibility for the colonies of defeated countries and appointed trustee nations to administer them. The trustee nations were instructed to prepare the territories for eventual independence and to report regularly to the General Assembly on conditions in the colonies. In addition, by accepting the Charter, all member nations commited themselves to developing self-government in colonies under their control.

This original comitment to decolonizalization grew slowly in the 1950's, but during the 1960's, it became a dominant force when more and

CONTRASTS IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

more former colonies became members of the UN*. As the main advocate of ending all colonial rule, the new Afro-Asian bloc of developing nations became a chief mover in the General Assembly.

One of the bloc's major concerns has been conditions in the Republic of South Africa. The white ruling class of South Africa, descendents of Dutch and British settlers, have long maintained strict racial segregation in all areas of life. This practice is called apartheid.

Beginning in 1960, various UN organs began investigations of apartheid in South Africa after being pressured by new African members. In November 1962 the General Assembly called on all UN members to begin an economic and political boycott of South Africa. The following year the Afro-Asian countries asked the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against the country. The Council stopped short of granting their demands, but it did request all states to voluntarily stop "the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition...and military vehicles" to South Africa.

These measures, however, did not force South Africa to abandon apartheid. Since the economic boycott and the arms embargo were both voluntary, many nations ignored them. These included some black African nations whose economies were closely tied to South Africa.

In spite of these setbacks, the Afro-Asian bloc, supported by the Soviet bloc and some Western countries, has kept up its pressure on the Security Council to take more decisive measures against South Africa. By the early 1970's, resolutions condemning apartheid in South Africa and calling for action against her regularly received over 100 votes.

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*Three in 1961, six in 1962, two in 1963, three in 1964, three in 1965, four in 1966, two in 1967, three in 1968, one in 1970, five in 1971, and three in 1974.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF UN MEMBERS

Population	Members 1945-1954	New Members 1955-1964	New Members 1965-1975	Total Members 1975
50 Million +	9	4	2	15
26-50 Million	9	1	0	10
11-25 Million	11	14	1	26
1-10 Million	28	32	3	63
Less Than 1 Million	2	5	17	24
TOTAL New Members	59	56	23	138

There are usually two nations opposed, one of which is South Africa, and 5-15 members abstain.

The large General Assembly majority has been unable to force the Security Council to act. In 1974 the Assembly asked the Council to consider expelling South Africa from the UN because of its violations of the Charter. The Council rejected the request when three permanent members--the United States, the United Kingdom and France--voted against it. In January 1975 the General Assembly - by a vote of 109 in favor to 1 against (the United States) with 9 abstentions - again asked the Security Council to consider the question. The resolution is still pending.

At this time the Afro-Asian bloc has been unable to make the UN an effective weapon against apartheid in South Africa. But by keeping the issue alive, it has mobilized much of world opinion against the practice. This puts pressure on the Security Council to face the question and puts pressure on South Africa to modify its practices. One result of this pressure has been a crack in apartheid in sports. For the first time, the South African government has allowed the formation of a multi-racial soccer team.

The developing nations do not yet dominate the General Assembly on all issues. They disagree among themselves on some economic questions, and they lose the support of the Soviet bloc on issues like nuclear weapons. In this area most Western countries and the Soviet bloc have a common interest in limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. Many developing nations, on the other hand, want their own nuclear capability.

The influence of the developing countries in the UN General Assembly continues to grow. With the admission of the two Germanys in 1973 and

the seating of the Republic of China in 1971, all the major powers of the world are represented. Almost any new member in the future will be a small newly independent nation--just as most new members in the past ten years have been. As a result, the major powers from both the Western and Soviet bloc are increasingly turning to channels outside the General Assembly for the solution to problems. This development clouds the future of the United Nations.

Generalizations about the U.N.:

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

Possible Future Events for the U.N.:

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

3. _____

_____

Projecting events is often not enough for people interested in planning change. They need to be able to make choices between alternative futures. Two things are involved in making such choices. One is to determine what political values are attached to each of the futures -- what people prefer and why. Another thing is to determine the probability that a particular future will happen. Finding out about both political values and probabilities is step three in the sequences of steps involved in forecasting alternative futures.

Political values are elusive things to determine. Think about your own personal political values as you read the case below about Meg and Joe's observations about the U.N. Then state your values and which alternative future you would prefer.

How Should Nations Be Represented in the UN General Assembly?

Meg: Did you hear Kissinger on the news last night? The government is really angry at the way the developing nations are running the UN General Assembly.

Joe: I wonder what will happen if even more tiny countries like Guinea Bissau join the UN?

Meg: Me, too. A few of those countries are very rich, you know. They could help the developing nations become a real international power.

Joe: Maybe, but do you think the US or even the USSR would be willing to take a back seat in the UN?

Meg: You've got a point. There must be some way to balance the voting strength of the few major powers against the large number of tiny countries.

Joe: Well, some experts on the UN have suggested allowing small nations to join as associate members who wouldn't vote or have to contribute money. But what would you do about the ones who are already members?

Meg: If larger or more powerful nations get more votes, that might make them happy, but what would the small nations say?

Joe: I wonder if there's any way to make everybody happy?

How should nations be represented in the UN General Assembly?

1. What are your values in this case?

2. What alternative future would you prefer for the U.S.?

3. What are some reasons why you prefer this alternative over others?

Sometimes we desire political futures which are nearly impossible. Even though we might like for all political units to be elite or coalitional, our preferences are often tempered by the fact that some futures are more easily attained than others. This is why part of forecasting involves the assignment of probabilities to alternatives. Assigning probabilities is a complex topic which will be only superficially treated here. Basically a probability is an estimate of the likelihood that something will happen. You can assign a probability like "30% chance" to the alternative that Chicago will continue to be an elite system because you can argue that it has always been such a system and Daley has solid control over Chicago politics. With a different argument, you might assign a different probability. You could, for example, argue that opposition was bound to solidify someday because people are becoming more skilled in promoting their interests. The probability of the system continuing to be elite would then be very low, like about 10%.

Look again at the alternative futures projected for the U.N. and assign probabilities to each alternative based on an argument you make for the potential accomplishment of the alternative.

UNITED NATIONS FORECASTS

PROBABILITY

1. ALTERNATIVE #1: _____ _____

_____

ARGUMENT: _____

_____

_____

_____

PROBABILITY

2. ALTERNATIVE #2: _____ _____

_____

ARGUMENT: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. ALTERNATIVE #3: _____ _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Now think about your values and the probabilities you have assigned to different alternative futures of the U.S. What do you think is the best forecast for its future? Why do you think so?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

You have now had some experience in forecasting. Read the case below and make a forecast about the future of the People's Republic of China. The case includes a view of the Chinese Cultural Revolution from workers in the General Knitwear Factory and a statement by a woman who worked there. Remember to go through each of the steps of forecasting as you make your projection.

The General Knitwear Factory

The General Knitwear Factory in Peking is located in the center of the city. Of the 3,400 people employed in the factory in 1971, 60 per cent were women. Production ranges from weaving cotton and synthetic fabrics to finished goods, such as sweaters and jackets. The total annual output of the factory is about 20 million items, and the products are used both domestically and for export to Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia.

Working conditions in the factory are guided by the Chinese Communist Party, which is concerned with the welfare of the workers and the preservation of human initiative. Before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China from 1966 to 1969, the capitalists did not care about such matters. A child care center where children can be boarded for as long as a week and a canteen which serves three meals a day are included in the factory.

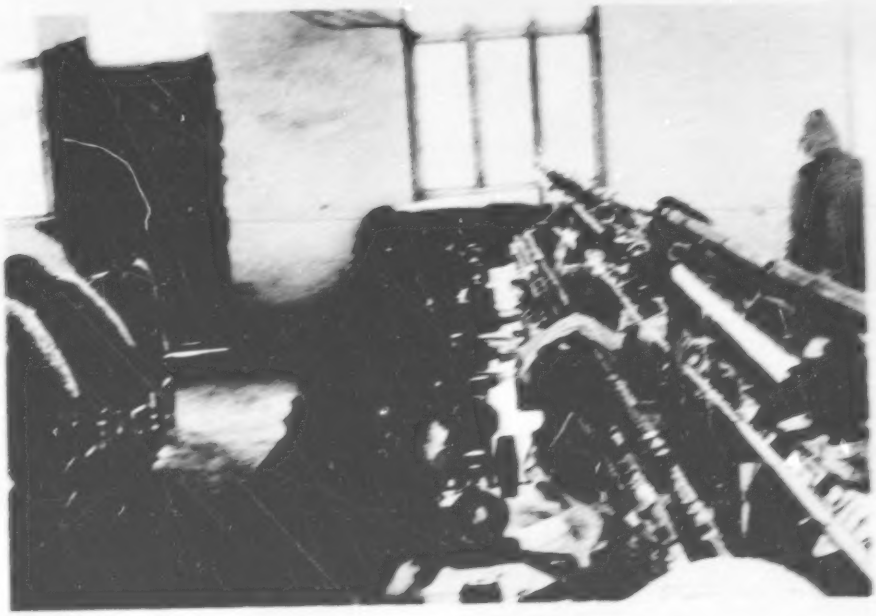
All of the factory shops are air conditioned and the machines are carefully safeguarded to prevent injury to workers. In those shops which are excessively hot, such as the one containing the dryers, workers receive a special allowance, eat more meat, and rest more frequently. Bathing facilities are also made available to the workers.

People in the sewing shop work eight hours per day with half an hour for lunch. Also, there are two additional fifteen minute breaks for physical exercises which are designed to prevent disabilities resulting from work. At the same time, these are military exercises, since the Chinese believe they must always be prepared against imperialist invasion.

There is a factory infirmary and each shop has its own doctors. Doctors make daily rounds of the shops so that most workers do not need to visit doctors elsewhere. If a worker is sick and cannot be treated in the factory, she or he is immediately sent to a hospital. There is no charge

for consultation and medication in the hospital and workers receive their regular pay while they are out sick.

Between the ages of eighteen months and seven years, the children of factory workers may remain in the nursery full time and stay with their families only once a week. Mothers who do not want to leave their children full time may leave them in the nursery for one day or an afternoon. There is always enough room for all of the children. The exact number of babies



Textile workers in a Chinese factory

between the ages of fifty-six days and three years is unknown. There are slightly over two hundred children between three and seven years.

The workers of the General Knitwear Factory are still trying to improve their working conditions. They also know that the only reason the conditions are as good as they are now is that their own attitudes towards the factory have changed. Instead of using the factory for personal advancement, they now see it as a way the workers can serve the people of China.

The general acceptance of this new attitude in China is a result of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Chinese phrase which is usually translated as "Cultural Revolution " literally means "great revolution in civilization." This latter translation more clearly describes the tremendous effect this revolution has had on modern society.

For several years a conflict had been developing among the top leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The major struggle was between Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i because, although they were both leaders in the same political party, they disagreed about the basic goals for China.

Liu Shao-ch'i was responsible for running the government, Party schools, labor organizations, Communist Youth Leagues, and millions of Party personnel in Mao's name. Liu was creating a new class of bureaucratic power wielders who were unresponsive to the people. This was not at all that Mao believed in.

Chinese textile factory workers on a lunch break

Mao was contemptuous of the experts and intellectuals placed in powerful positions by Liu. These people had never plowed the land or been part of the majority of Chinese civilization. Mao was strongly opposed to a political culture dominated by a bourgeois class.

In 1965 it appeared that Mao was losing the dispute with Liu. He lost control of the Party and was unable to get the Party-controlled press to publish an important document containing his ideas for China. An increasing number of novels and plays attacking Mao's ideas were published.

Mao was convinced that China needed a revolution to get it firmly back on the right track. Although it was Mao's ideology which had originally determined Party policies, Liu had begun to shape events and ideas in the Party. Mao decided that the Chinese Communist Party needed to be purged of Liu Shao Ch'i and his followers.

For three years, China shook with the consequences of Mao's decision. The Chinese Communist Party, if not the government itself, was temporarily dissolved. Schools were closed and the economy disrupted. There was a free-for-all struggle for power.

In 1969, Party unity was finally restored with Mao firmly in command. He had risked wrecking the Party which his ideas, more than any other's, had shaped. When he realized that he had become a figurehead leader in the Party while the Party was carrying out policies contrary to his ideology, he knew that the risk was worth it. And in the end, he achieved his goal.

A Personal View of the Revolution

When I think back to the way things used to be in this factory ten years ago, I wonder how the workers could tolerate the conditions. We worked long hours, had only one break during the day, there were many injuries from working with unsafe machinery. There were no doctors to treat our injuries. It was always hot in the shops and there were no day care facilities for our children.

Now things are very different. The Chinese Communist Party is looking out for our welfare all of the time. Politics are in command of this factory now and everyone believes that whatever Chairman Mao says is the truth. Sometimes I do wonder how one man can be right all of the time when most other people tend to make mistakes every once in awhile. Of course, I'd never mention any of my doubts to anyone. That would be treason.

I suppose Chairman Mao is a very special man. Otherwise, how could he look after a country as large as China and be responsible for everybody's well being? There's probably no reason to question his thoughts since he can make such good decisions. Maybe if I just read Mao's teachings every day, I won't need to think for myself at all anymore.

1. Generalizations about development and conflict in the People's Republic of China:

   a. _____

   _____

   b. _____

   _____

2. Alternative Futures:

   a. _____

   _____

   b. _____

   _____

   c. _____

   _____

3. Your preferences based on your values:

   Values: _____

   _____

   Preferences (in rank order):

   a. _____

   b. _____

   c. _____

4. Probabilities of Alternatives:

		PROBABILITY
ALTERNATIVE #1	_____	_____
	_____	
ARGUMENT:	_____	
	_____	
	_____	
	_____	

PROBABILITY

ALTERNATIVE #2 _____ _____

_____

ARGUMENT: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

ALTERNATIVE #3 _____ _____

_____

ARGUMENT: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5. Your final projection and your reasons for making it:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Activity F-2: Political Futures in Your School

Alternative futures can be projected for many types of political systems. Your school is such a political system. From the School Political Resources Questionnaire you have done in your school, you can make some rough forecasts about alternative futures. The questionnaires will be tabulated in class by directions your teacher gives. Below are some questions which serve as guides for forecasting. Think about these questions now and compare your answers to those you have after class discussion.

1. Does your school seem to be more elite or coalitional in its political resources?

2. What changes have occurred in the political life of your school over the last few years?

3. How have resources affected these changes? Make some generalizations about these effects.

4. What alternative ways do you think your school can move over the next decade?

5. What things about school do you personally value?

6. Rate the possible alternative futures according to your value preferences.

#1 _____

#2 _____

#3 _____

7. What probabilities would you assign to each of the possible alternative futures? Give reasons for the probabilities you choose.

		Probability
#1	_____	_____
	_____	
	_____	
#2	_____	_____
	_____	
	_____	
#3	_____	_____
	_____	
	_____	

8. What overall forecast would you make for your school's political future?